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GREECE AND ROME

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JAKOB VON FALKE

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GREECE AND ROME
THEIR LIFE AND ART

BY
JAKOB VON FALKE

TRANSLATED BY
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Associate of Johns Hopkins University

ILLUSTRATED



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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

THE translator has retained the original spelling of Greek proper names, except where there is a well-established English form, as Athens, Rhodes, Corinth.

He also desires to state that a great part of the numerous poetical quotations scattered throughout the text have been taken from the best versions; and only where no version could be found, or none that was satisfactory, has he invoked his private muse. He begs that this general acknowledgment may be allowed to pass instead of a multitude of references encumbering the margin or disfiguring the text.

CONTENTS.

GREECE.

1. ART AND LITERATURE.

	PAGE
1. THE AGE OF LEGEND,	3
2. AGE OF FORMATION OF STATES (TO THE PERSIAN WARS),	14
3. THE PERIOD OF THE DEMOCRACY, AND CONTESTS FOR THE HEGEMONY,	24
4. THE MAKEDONIAN PERIOD, AND FALL OF GREEK POLITICAL LIBERTY,	37

2. LIFE AND MANNERS.

1. YOUTH AND EDUCATION,	45
2. PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND DRESS,	55
3. THE WOMEN,	73
4. HOUSE, FURNITURE AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY,	84
5. HOSPITALITY AND ENTERTAINMENTS,	94
6. PUBLIC LIFE,	105
7. LIFE OF LEISURE—GYMNASTICS AND GAMES,	114
8. RELIGIOUS LIFE,	131

3. HISTORY AND POLITICAL CONDITION.

1. EPOCHS OF ART,	145
2. POETRY,	166
3. PROSE LITERATURE: HISTORY, ORATORY, PHILOSOPHY,	178

ROME.

1. HISTORY OF THE STATE.

1. TIME OF THE REPUBLIC,	191
2. THE EMPERORS,	202

2. LIFE AND MANNERS.

1. ROME, THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE,	215
2. THE HOUSE AND ITS FURNITURE; THE VILLA AND THE GARDEN,	227
3. DRESS AND PERSONAL ORNAMENTS,	240
4. THE ROMAN WOMEN,	251
5. DOMESTIC LIFE,	265
6. PUBLIC LIFE,	278
7. RELIGIOUS LIFE,	290

3. ART AND LITERATURE.

1. ART IN ROME AND IN THE EMPIRE,	301
2. THE LITERATURE OF THE REPUBLIC,	319
3. LITERATURE OF THE EMPIRE,	330

FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE		PAGE
F. THIERSCH. <i>Frontispiece (titl 2)</i> .		A. FEUERBACH. Iphigencia in Tauris,	175
F. KELLER-LEUZINGER. Greece,	1	TH. GROSSE. Death of Sokrates,	185
J. HOFFMANN. Mykenai,	13	A. FEUERBACH. Agathon's Feast,	187
J. HOFFMANN. Sparta,	15	F. KELLER-LEUZINGER. Rome,	189
J. HOFFMANN. The Dromos in Sparta,	17	F. PRELLER. Romulus and Remus,	193
J. HOFFMANN. Corinth, viewed from the Quarries,	19	L. H. FISCHER. Tiberius at Capreae,	205
L. H. FISCHER. View of Modern Athens,	21	H. SIEMIRADZKI. Nero's Torches,	207
J. H. FISCHER. Battle-field of Plataia,	27	J. BÜHLMANN. Rome in the time of Aurelian,	221
E. KLIMSCH. Sports of Greek girls,	53	W. FRIEDRICH. Street-scene in Pompeii,	233
E. KLIMSCH. Morning in the Gynaikonitis,	69	F. KNAB. Scenery at Cape Misenum, near Baiae,	235
P. THUMANN. Flower-market at Athens,	73	F. KNAB. Roman Villa,	236
C. GEHRTS. Phryne before the Judges,	83	L. H. FISCHER. Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli,	237
J. BÜHLMANN. View of Athens from the East at the Time of Hadrian,	107	E. STÜCKELBERG. Puppet-players at Pompeii,	25
J. BÜHLMANN. Market of Athens,	109	L. ALMA TADEMA. At the Entrance of the Theatre,	259
O. KNILLE. Olympian Games,	125	L. ALMA TADEMA. Scene from Roman life,	261
F. THIERSCH. Olympia,	129	L. ALMA TADEMA. The Improvisator,	265
L. GURLITT. View from Delphi over the Plain of Krissa,	135	W. FRIEDRICH. Banquet,	271
J. BÜHLMANN. Inner Propylaea at Eleusis,	137	C. GEHRTS. Carousal,	277
J. HOFFMANN. The Island Sphairia,	139	G. BAVERNFIELD. Forum Romanum,	279
F. THIERSCH. Akropolis at Athens,	151	F. THIERSCH. Baths of Caracalla,	283
F. THIERSCH. Interior of the Parthenon,	153	F. THIERSCH. Circus Maximus,	285
C. RIESS. Amphora of the rich style,	155	A. WAGNER. Chariot-race in the Circus Maximus,	287
L. OTTO. Athenian Knights from the Procession of the Panathenaia,	161	J. BÜHLMANN. Via Appia near Rome,	297
F. PRELLER. Nausikaa and Odysseus,	167	The Laokoön,	303
A. FEUERBACH. Departure of Medea,	171	L. OTTO. Group from the recently-discovered Sculptures at Pergamon,	305
J. BÜHLMANN. Theatre of Dionysos at Athens,	173	J. BÜHLMANN. Interior of the Pantheon,	317

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

	PAGE		PAGE
View of Athens from the road to Eleusis.		Syracuse. By L. D. FISCHER,	29
Drawn from nature, by L. H. FISCHER,	1	Alkibiades. From the <i>Monument Inediti</i> ,	30
Initial H. By O. KÖNIG,	1	The Peiraios, with the Long Walls and build-	
Tail-piece. By F. THIERSCH,	2	ings restored. By F. THIERSCH,	31
Ascent to the Capital. History. By O. KÖNIG,	3	Site of Thebes. Sketch from nature, by L.	
Initial W. By F. THIERSCH,	3	Gurlitt. Drawn by H. NESTEL,	33
Oaks on Parnassos. Drawn from nature, by		Demosthenes. Drawn by H. VOLZ,	34
L. GURLITT,	4	Aischines. Drawn by H. VOLZ,	35
Site of Dodona, from the work of Carapanos.		Tail-piece. By F. THIERSCH,	36
Drawn by G. FRANZ,	8	Entry of Alexander the Great into Babylon.	
Vale of Tempe, with Olympus and the Pe-		From the frieze by THORWALDSEN,	37
neios. Drawn by L. H. FISCHER,	9	Initial E. By F. THIERSCH,	37
Plain of Troy, Present appearance, by L. H.		Alexander the Great. From a bust in the	
FISCHER,	10	Louvre. Drawn by H. VOLZ,	38
Golden diadem found by Schliemann at Troy,		Battle of Issos. Mosaic from Pompeii,	39
by C. RIESS,	10	Bacchanalian Revel of Alexander. By C.	
Gate of the Lions, at Mykenai. Restored. By		GEHRTS,	41
J. HOFFMANN,	11	Sanctuary of Poseidon, Kalauria, restored.	
Panorama of Schliemann's Excavations at My-		From sketches, and drawn by J. HOFFMANN,	43
kenai. Drawn by G. FRANZ,	12	Tail-piece,	44
Golden Vessels found at Mykenai. Drawn by		Girl dancing. From a relief in the Villa Bor-	
C. RIESS,	12	ghese, Rome,	45
Terra-cotta Vases, from Cyprus. Drawn by C.		Initial I. By F. THIERSCH,	45
RIESS,	13	Greek Mother, with her Children. Relief in	
Ithaka. Drawn from nature, by L. H.		the Louvre,	46
FISCHER,	12	Aisop. From the bust in the Villa Albani,	
View of Athens, from the Peiraios. Drawn		Rome. Drawn by H. VOLZ,	47
from nature, by L. H. FISCHER,	14	Pedagogue. From the Niobe-Group in the	
Initial D, by F. THIERSCH,	14	Uffizi Palace, Florence. Drawn by F. O.	
Market-place of Sparta. Restoration. Drawn		SCHULZE,	48
by J. HOFFMANN,	15	Scene in a School. From a vase,	49
Gymnastic Exercises of the Spartan youth, by		Female Flute-player. From a vase,	50
P. GROT' JOHANN,	16	Girl with Cithara. Antique relief in the	
Gulf of Corinth. From nature, by L. H.		Louvre,	51
FISCHER,	18	Girls dancing,	52
Greek Warriors, from ancient vases,	20	Girl Playing with Dice. Museum at Berlin,	53
View of Modern Athens. From nature, by L.		Tail-piece. Bacchante. From an antique altar	
Gurlitt. Drawn by H. NESTEL,	21	in the Louvre,	54
Tail-piece, by F. THIERSCH,	23	Girls from Tanagra. From the originals in	
The Parthenon in the time of Perikles. Res-		the British Museum. Drawn by L. OTTO,	55
toration. Drawn by F. THIERSCH,	24	Initial G. By F. THIERSCH,	55
Initial L. By F. THIERSCH,	24	Greek Ideal Head. From the original in the	
Plain of Marathon. By L. H. FISCHER,	25	British Museum. Drawn by L. OTTO,	56
Soldier of Marathon. By W. KRAUSKOPF,	25	Apollo Belvedere,	57
Coast of Thessalia and Pass of Thermopylai.		Capitoline Venus,	59
By L. H. FISCHER,	26	Lady of Tanagra. From the original in the	
Miltiades and Themistokles. By G. FRANZ,	27	British Museum. Drawn by L. OTTO,	60
Site of Megara, with the Island Salamis.		Male Costume. Drawn by C. GEHRTS,	62
From a sketch by L. Gurlitt, drawn by H.		Female Costume. By C. GEHRTS,	63
NESTEL,	27	Figures of Women. By C. GEHRTS,	64
Perikles. From the bust in the Louvre. Drawn		Ephebos, with chlamys and hat. From Hope's	
by E. v. LIPHART,	28	<i>Costume of the Ancients</i> ,	65

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

	PAGE		PAGE
Girl of Tanagra, in the Chiton. From the original in the British Museum. Drawn by L. OTTO,	65	Athenians Conversing. From Hope's <i>Costume of the Ancients</i> ,	110
Parti-coloured Dress. From a vase,	66	The Pnyx in its present appearance. By H. NESTEL,	112
Shoes, Boots and Sandals. By F. O. SCHULZE,	66	Tail-piece,	113
Greek Male Heads. From vases. Drawn by C. KOLB,	67	Excavations at Olympia. By H. NESTEL,	114
Barber. From the original in the Berlin Museum. Drawn by L. OTTO,	67	Initial B. By F. THIERSCH,	114
Female Heads, with antique coiffures. From Stackelberg's <i>Gräber der Hellenen</i> . Drawn by C. KOLB,	67	Nocturnal Revellers. From a vase,	116
Klytie. By C. KOLB,	68	Greek Chariot,	117
Female Head, from the Glyptothek at Munich,	70	Artemis, Goddess of the Chase. By H. VOLZ,	119
Toilet Implements, with Mirror, Scrapers and Fans. Drawn by C. RIESS,	71	Plain of Athens, with Aigina and the distant mountains, seen from the Akropolis. Drawn from nature, by L. GURLITT,	120
Bride Adorned for the Nuptials. From a Greek vase,	71	Faun of Praxiteles. By H. VOLZ,	122
Sale of Flowers. By O. König,	72	Road from Eleusis to Athens. By J. BÜHLMANN,	123
Greek Women at Home. From a vase,	73	Apoxyomenos. By H. VOLZ,	125
Initial W. By C. RIESS,	73	Diskobolos making the Cast. By H. VOLZ,	126
Dorian Girl, victor in the foot-race. Drawn from the antique. By C. KOLB,	74	Diskobolos resting. By H. VOLZ,	126
Sappho. Drawn by L. MICHALEK,	75	Farnese Hercules. By H. VOLZ,	127
Greek Lady, seated. From a vase. By C. KOLB,	76	Hermes, God of the Gymnasts. By H. VOLZ,	127
Dancing-Girl. By C. KOLB,	77	Nike of Paionios. By L. MICHALEK,	128
Domestic Scenes. From a vase,	79	Hermes of Praxiteles. By L. MICHALEK,	129
Eros of Praxiteles. By C. KOLB,	80	Interior of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Restored by J. BÜHLMANN,	130
Aspasia. By C. KOLB,	81	Bust of Zeus. Drawn by E. v. LIPHART,	131
Aphrodite. By L. MICHALEK,	82	Initial C. By F. THIERSCH,	131
Tail-piece,	83	Youth praying. From the bronze statue in the Berlin Museum,	132
Entrance of a Greek House. Restoration. Drawn by J. BÜHLMANN,	84	Ravine of Delphi. Sketched from nature, by L. Gurlitt. Drawn by H. NESTEL,	134
Initial E. By F. THIERSCH,	84	Ruins of Delphi. Sketched from nature by L. Gurlitt. Drawn by H. NESTEL,	135
Ground Plan of a Greek House,	85	Bacchanals. From the Borghese vase in the Louvre,	138
Aula, with the Prostas and Statue of Hestia in the background. Restoration. Drawn by J. BÜHLMANN,	87	Athenian Women in the Panathenaïac Procession. From the original in the British Museum. Drawn by L. OTTO,	139
Chairs and Seats. Drawn by F. O. SCHULZE,	88	Sacrificial Victims in the Panathenaïac Procession. From the original in the British Museum. Drawn by L. OTTO,	140
Couches. Drawn by F. O. SCHULZE,	89	Source of the Styx. By L. H. FISCHER,	141
Lamps and Candelabra. By C. RIESS,	91	Opened Grave with its contents. By C. RIESS,	141
Greek Women at Household Work. By E. KLIMSCH,	92	Street of Tombs in Athens. Restoration. By F. THIERSCH,	142
Tail-piece,	93	Relief on a Greek Tomb. From the original in the Louvre. Drawn by E. v. LIPHART,	143
Carousal. By A. TADEMA,	94	Funeral Cups. By C. RIESS,	144
Initial F. By F. THIERSCH,	94	Ornaments from Schliemann's discoveries at Troy. By C. RIESS,	145
Receiving a Guest-Friend. From a vase. By C. RIESS,	95	Initial A. By F. THIERSCH,	145
Greeks at Table. By E. KLIMSCH,	97	"Treasury of Atreus." By C. RIESS,	146
Wine-jugs or <i>oinochoai</i> , mixing-bowls, krateres. By C. RIESS,	98	Temple of Poseidon at Paestum. By J. BÜHLMANN,	147
Bacchos. Drawn by C. KOLB,	100	Propylaia at Athens. By F. THIERSCH,	148
Female Acrobats. By E. KLIMSCH,	101	Doric and Ionic capitals. By C. RIESS,	150
Drinking Vessels: Bowls, beakers, and rhyta. By C. RIESS,	102	Karyatid of the Erechtheion. Drawn by L. OTTO,	151
Tail-piece. By C. RIESS,	104	The Erechtheion. Restoration. By F. THIERSCH,	152
Street in Athens, with the Tower of the Winds. By J. BÜHLMANN,	105	Vases. By C. RIESS,	154
Initial M. By F. THIERSCH,	105	From the Ficronian cista in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome,	157
Slave-girls at the Fountain. By E. KLIMSCH,	106		
Hippokrates. Drawn by C. KOLB,	107		
Hermes and Asklepios. Drawn by C. KOLB,	108		

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

	PAGE		PAGE
Draped Female Figures from the Frieze of the		Roman Amphitheatre in Verona. By R. PÜTT-	
Parthenon. By H. VOLZ,	159	NER,	221
Niobe. By H. VOLZ,	161	Roman Aqueduct near Gand, in the south of	
Aphrodite of Melos. By H. VOLZ,	162	France. By R. PÜTTNER,	222
Dying Gaul. By H. VOLZ,	163	Porta Nigra, at Treves. Drawn by P. RITTER,	222
Farnese Bull. By H. VOLZ,	164	Roman Pavement. By C. RIESS,	223
Tail-piece. By C. RIESS,	165	View of the Roman Campagna, from the Villa	
Head-piece: Ulysses and Thersites. By O.		Appia. By F. PRELLER,	223
KÖNIG,	166	Roman Travelling Carriage. By C. RIESS,	224
Homer. By E. v. LIPHART,	166	Roman Milestone. By C. RIESS,	224
Sophokles. In the Lateran Museum at Rome.		Bay of Baiae. By L. H. FISCHER,	225
By H. VOLZ,	173	The <i>Maison Carrée</i> , a Roman temple in Nîmes.	
Scene from a Comedy. By C. GEHRTS,	174	By R. PÜTTNER,	226
Poseidippos. Statue in the Vatican. By H.		Roman Bakery. By W. FRIEDRICH,	227
VOLZ,	176	Initial V. By O. GIRARD,	227
Menander. Statue in the Vatican. By H.		Section of a Roman House. By C. RIESS,	228
VOLZ,	177	Ground Plan of a Roman House (the house of	
Mount Parnassos. Drawn from nature, by		Pansa in Pompeii). By C. RIESS,	228
L. H. FISCHER,	178	Interior of a Roman House. By C. RIESS,	229
Initial H. By F. THIERSCH,	178	Boy with a Swan. By P. BECKERT,	230
Demosthenes. Bust in the Vatican. By H.		Pompeian Wall Decoration. By C. RIESS,	231
VOLZ,	182	Hovering Figure, from a fresco at Pompeii.	
Sokrates. Bust in the Vatican. By H. VOLZ,	184	By P. BECKERT,	232
Diogenes. Bust in the Villa Albani at Rome.		Roman Ceiling. By C. RIESS,	233
Arch of Constantine. By L. RITTER,	189	Floor-mosaic. By C. RIESS,	233
Initial W. By C. RIESS,	189	Domestic Utensils. By C. RIESS,	234
Tail-piece. By C. RIESS,	190	Roman Garden. By P. RITTER,	238
Monument of the Horatii and Curiatii. By F.		View from the Tiburtine villa of the Emperor	
PRELLER,	191	Hadrian. Restoration. By J. BÜHLMANN,	239
Initial S. By C. RIESS,	191	Head-piece. By O. KÖNIG,	240
Hannibal. By G. THEUERKAUF,	194	Initial K. By F. THIERSCH,	240
The elder Scipio. By G. THEUERKAUF,	197	Romans wearing the Toga. By P. BECKERT,	241
Pompeius the Great. By G. THEUERKAUF,	199	Roman Shoes and Sandals. By V. FROER,	242
Julius Caesar. By G. THEUERKAUF,	200	Roman Women. By P. BECKERT,	244
Marcus Brutus. By G. THEUERKAUF,	201	Coiffures of Roman Ladies. By C. KOLB,	245
Augustus and Livia, from the Gemma Augus-		Juno Ludovisi. By P. BECKERT,	246
tea,	202	Toilette of a Roman Lady. By A. DE COURTEN,	247
Initial F. By C. RIESS,	202	Female Ornaments. By C. RIESS,	248
Augustus. By G. THEUERKAUF,	203	Toilette Articles. By C. RIESS,	249
Tiberius. By G. THEUERKAUF,	205	Tail-piece. By C. RIESS,	250
Nero. By G. THEUERKAUF,	205	Aldobrandini Wedding. By P. BECKERT,	251
Claudius. By G. THEUERKAUF,	206	Initial M. By O. GIRARD,	251
The younger Agrippina. By G. THEUERKAUF,	206	Roman Maiden. By P. BECKERT,	252
Vespasian. By G. THEUERKAUF,	207	Matron. By P. BECKERT,	253
Titus. By G. THEUERKAUF,	207	Agrippina and Germanicus. By P. BECKERT,	255
Galba. By H. VOLZ,	208	Messalina. By P. BECKERT,	256
Trajan. By H. VOLZ,	209	The Young Nero. By P. BECKERT,	257
Marcus Aurelius from the equestrian statue		Faustina. By P. BECKERT,	257
at the Capitol. By G. THEUERKAUF,	210	Julia Domna. By P. BECKERT,	258
Constantine the Great. By G. THEUERKAUF,	213	Caracalla. By P. BECKERT,	259
Capitol at Rome. Restoration. By J. BÜHL-		Roman Poetess. By P. BECKERT,	260
MAN,	215	Roman Married Pair. By P. BECKERT,	262
Initial W. By O. GIRARD,	215	House-philosopher. By W. FRIEDRICH,	263
Aurelian Wall. By F. PRELLER,	217	Tail-piece,	264
Fountain of Alexander Severus at Rome.		Cato and Porcia. By P. BECKERT,	265
Restoration. By J. BÜHLMANN,	218	Initial A. By O. GIRARD,	265
Ruins of a Roman Aqueduct. By F. PRELLER,	216	Writing Implements. By C. RIESS,	266
Ruins in the Roman Campagna. By F. PREL-		School Scene. By P. BECKERT,	266
LER,	219	Roman Girls. By P. BECKERT,	267
Augustus, from the bust in the Glyptothek in		Swarm of Clients. By W. FRIEDRICH,	269
Munich,	220	Study. By W. FRIEDRICH,	270
Roman Amphitheatre in Arles. By R. PÜTTNER,	221	Vitellius. By P. BECKERT,	272

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

	PAGE		PAGE
Glassware. By C. RIESS,	273	Sleeping Ariadne. From the original in the Vatican,	306
Silverware of the time of Augustus, discovered at Hildesheim. By C. RIESS,	274	Borghese Boxer. From the original in the Louvre,	307
Still-life. By C. RIESS,	274	Forum and Column of Trajan. Restoration. By J. BÜHLMANN,	308
Romans at Table. By L. ALMA TADEMA,	275	Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli. By R. PÜTTNER,	309
Roman Flower-girl. By P. BECKERT,	275	Antinoos. From the bust in relief in the Villa Albani,	311
Musical entertainment. By P. BECKERT,	276	Scene from the Odyssey-landscapes in the Vatican,	312
Tail-piece (from a Pompeian fresco). By P. BECKERT,	277	Temple of Pallas. By J. BÜHLMANN. Restoration of a Roman temple,	313
Roman racing chariot. By V. FROER,	278	Corinthian and Composite capitals. By C. RIESS,	314
Initial K. By O. GIRARD,	278	Mouth of the Cloaca Maxima at the Tiber. By R. PÜTTNER,	315
The Forum (present appearance). By G. BAUFERNFEIND,	279	Mausoleum of Hadrian (now the castle of Sant' Angelo). Restored and drawn by C. RIESS,	316
Street in Pompeii. By W. FRIEDRICH,	280	Arch of Titus. By L. RITTER,	317
Wall-inscription from Pompeii. By C. RIESS,	281	Tail-piece. By P. BECKERT,	318
Theatrical masks. By V. FROER,	284	From the Gardens of Sallust. Drawn from nature, by F. PRELLER,	319
Colosseum seen from the Palatine (present appearance). By R. PÜTTNER,	285	Initial E. By O. GIRARD,	319
Section of the Colosseum, showing the construction. By C. RIESS,	286	Scipio Africanus the elder. By P. BECKERT,	320
Prætorians. From a relief. By P. BECKERT,	288	Sarcophagus of Cornelius Lucius Scipio, from the original in the Vatican,	322
Gladiators. From a painting on the parapet of the amphitheatre at Pompeii. By P. BECKERT,	289	Entrance to the Graves of the Scipios. Drawn from nature by F. PRELLER,	324
Suovetaurilia. By P. BECKERT,	290	Terence. By H. WOLFF,	325
Initial D. By O. GIRARD,	290	Sallust, from an ancient coin. Drawn by H. WOLFF,	326
Altar. By V. FROER,	291	Hortensius. By H. WOLFF,	328
Roman making an offering. By P. BECKERT,	293	Cicero. By H. VOLZ,	329
Flora. By P. BECKERT,	294	Sarcophagus of the Muses, at the Capitol,	330
Harpisæ. By P. BECKERT,	295	Initial D. By O. GIRARD,	330
Pyramid of Cestius. Roman tomb. By R. PÜTTNER,	296	Vergil. By H. WOLFF,	332
In the Street of Graves at Pompeii. By W. FRIEDRICH,	297	Horace. From a painting by A. VON WERNER,	334
Columnarum. By C. RIESS,	298	Ovid. From a painting by A. VON WERNER,	335
In the Catacombs. By C. RIESS,	299	Horace. From ancient coins,	336, 337
Tail-piece. By C. RIESS,	300	Mæcenæus. By H. WOLFF,	339
Relief from Trajan's column. From original sketches,	301	Seneca. By H. VOLZ,	340
Initial N. By O. GIRARD,	301	Villa of the younger Pliny, from the restoration of K. F. Schinkel in the <i>Architekten-Album</i> . Drawn by R. PÜTTNER,	341
Gaul killing his wife and himself. From the original in the Villa Ludovisi,	303	Tail-piece. By P. BECKERT,	342
Torso of Herakles in the Belvedere. From the original,	304	Tail-piece, Rome. By R. PÜTTNER,	343
Venus de' Medici. From the original in Florence,	305	Finale. By F. KELLER-LENTZINGER,	344





VIEW OF ATHENS FROM THE ROAD TO ELEUSIS.
Mount Hymettos in the background ; the Akropolis in the middle distance.

GREECE.



ENCE to the sacred land, to Hellas, the cradle of freedom ;
To the Ilissos' banks follow the call of the Muse !

In less poetical phrase, we propose to conduct our readers in imagination to the sunny land of Greece, and, so far as we may, call back to life that richly-gifted people of old, whose spirit still survives in the works of their intellect and genius, and whose mission seems to have been to raise and inspire anew the world whenever it threatens to sink into materialism. Already more than once has Greece done this ; and even to-day, though material interests and practical studies seem to reign paramount, the admiration which her master-works never fail to command, assures us that her ancient power has not departed.

In this spirit we endeavour here to depict the culture of the Greeks, their life and their art. We shall slightly sketch the course of external events and the stages of

GREECE.

their political development, bringing into bold outline the periods of growth and decay, so far as they stand in close relation with the biography of the intellect, but upon this last we shall chiefly dwell. Thus we shall contemplate the Greeks on all sides, their character and external appearance, their education and occupations, their domestic, social, public and religious life, as well as their works of utility, art, and letters, the monuments of their hands and their genius. If all that relates to the perfection, to the consummate flower of Greek art, is treated more copiously and more minutely than what belongs to its infancy or its decline, this treatment is but natural in a work whose object and aim is to extend the love of beauty through an understanding of classic antiquity.



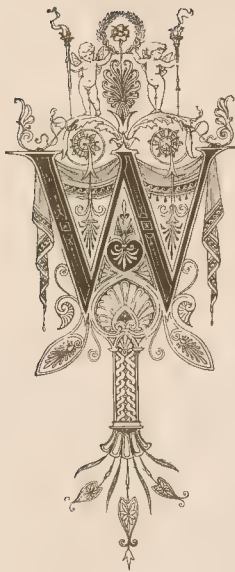


BOOK I.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL CONDITION.

1.

THE AGE OF LEGEND.



WHEN we study the past of Greece and of Italy, and endeavor to understand the causes, as well as the phenomena of their respective histories—histories more distinctly their own than those of any other race or people—we can not fail to be struck by the thought that nature, in assigning to those countries their peculiar geographical positions, had especially marked them out for peculiar destinies. The highest mountain system of Europe, running down almost to the coast-line, divides them sharply from the great mass of the continent, and, as it were, drives them into the sea in the form of peninsulas. Thus isolated and apart, they both, Greece as well as Italy, have been singled out for independent and characteristic national development, each in its own way. While one was destined to rule the world, and in so ruling to spread far and wide the ancient culture, the other, by the happy variety of its geographical and physical conditions, and by its position as mediator and regenerator of

GREECE.

the superannuated and perishing culture of the East, was peculiarly fitted to originate a new and complete intellectual life, which, for all time to come, should be the light of the world.

Greece—from Makedonia to the southern cape of Lakonia, but a little tract at best—unites, in this narrow area of a few square leagues, all the diversities of climate and vegetation, which, in less favoured climes, are spread over wide regions. In the north flourish the oak and the birch, and in the south the date-palm; while in the intermediate region the vine



OAKS OF MT. PARNASSOS.

and the olive grow in luxuriant abundance. The mountain wall of the Haimos (now the Balkan) shelters it from the rough and blighting winds of the north, while the sea and highlands temper the southern heats with vivifying moisture and refreshing coolness. Mountain-ranges, inclosing rich and lovely vales and plains, traverse the land with regularity, and lay it off like a chess-board, so that it seems equally adapted for subdivision into small states and populations, and for the development of the most diversified life; a life giving full scope to the character of a highly-gifted people. Yet, at the same time, it is prevented from isolation by the sea, which everywhere deeply indents the land with bays, divides the north from the south, Hellas from the Peloponnesos, except only a narrow isthmus, and by its harbours invites the inhabitants to come and go, to travel and traffic with the great world without.

While all Greece enjoys this wealth of ports and harbours, the eastern coast is, in this respect, especially favoured. Toward it flow the larger streams, in this direction stretch the wider plains, and open themselves to receive and extend culture. In the east, therefore, it was that the larger cities first grew, and the spiritual life of antiquity bloomed

HISTORY AND POLITICAL CONDITION.

in all its luxuriance and beauty, while the races in the interior, or amid the rocky hills and gorges of the west and the higher north, were reserving their physical strength for the future, to enter on the stage of history, fresh and young, when the highly-civilized states of the East had already begun to decline.

The eastern side, we say, gives and receives. On this side, that which faces the Orient, Greece does not end with her natural boundary. In fact, this boundary was rather a division than a limit; for in the earliest times, the times of the heroic legends, almost as much as in later days, the islands of the Aegæan Sea and the coast of Asia Minor were a part of Greece. Wherever Greek was spoken, there was Greece; and here, everywhere, on the islands as on the coast, as far as our vision can pierce into the mists of antiquity, the Greek tongue was spoken and kindred races dwelt. Every impulse that started from the side of Asia Minor was felt in the mother-land—if we may properly call Greece the mother-land—and every trivial movement in the heart of Hellas was propagated to the coast of Ionia. For Greek history, if not for Greece itself, the Aegæan is an inland sea; and for the mariners who cruise from island to island without once losing sight of land, it is a connecting highway, rather than a hindrance.

Thus, then, in even the earliest times, the movements of the Greek tribes went from the Hellespont and the coast of Asia Minor across to the Adriatic. And in these expanses of land and water there was, in that prehistoric time known as the heroic age, an incessant crowding and shifting of the peoples. The current flows from east to west, followed by a reflux from west to east; other tribes press down from the north, push their neighbours from their lands, traverse these, encounter and thrust aside other races and again others, until the movement reaches the southern coast, when it either is continued over the sea, or ebbs back toward the north again. One name after another arises out of the chaos, and vanishes again, either to emerge elsewhere, or to reappear where it had been thought utterly extinct. Immigrants, afterwards revered as heroes, such as Danaos, Kekrops, Kadmos, come from Egypt or Phoinikia, bringing into Greece the inventions of the Orient—writing, measures, and weights; and whatever they bring seems to be only Greek, and the bringers themselves are shortly reckoned as *autochthons*, native-born Greeks. Pelops, of the race of Tantalos, comes with a treasure of gold into Argos, and his descendants, the Atreidai, with Agamemnon, "shepherd of the people," at their head, appear as princes and kings, leaders of a united Greece. These princes and heroes gather their forces, swelled by adventurers from all the tribes, and make expeditions across the sea, whether lured, like the Argonauts, by a golden prize, or bound to revenge an outrage such as the abduction of Helen, and punish it with the destruction of Troy.

All this has been thickly overgrown with legend, if not thus actually created, and has been, at a later date, painted in perfect faith, and with the minutest details, in poetry. Then, still later, came the scholars, the literati of Alexandreia, who took the poetry for sober fact, and arranged all that the legend had invented or narrated into a chronological system, in which the Argonauts and the Trojan War, Kekrops and Kadmos, Danaos and Pelops, the wanderings of Dorians and Ionians, are entered and dated with grave precision.

Yet, arbitrary as this system was, and little as it serves to reconcile contradictions, explain enigmas, and bring light into this chaos of confusions, still, at the bottom of all this flux and reflux of peoples, these expeditions by sea and by land, this emergence and disappearance of names, there lies some substratum of fact which may perhaps be cleared

GREECE.

from the overgrowths of fable, if we frankly renounce all attempts at chronology. And thus the following sketch may be accepted as at least probable.

Leaving out of view those primeval inhabitants, of whom even the hoariest legend preserves no trace, we must look upon Phrygia, that table-land of Asia Minor east of the Greek coast-tract, as the original home from which the Greek nation emigrated, and from which Greece, and even Italy, were peopled. Though left behind in culture, and mocked and despised as barbarians, the Phrygians were indisputably of one race and one speech with the Hellenes. From this region started one wave of emigration after another, at greater or less intervals, whether broken loose by some shock from Asia, or crowded out by overpopulation. The first wave, crossing the Hellespont or the Bosphorus, and wandering on, apparently gave to Italy its peoples, so nearly akin to the Greeks. The second wave of emigrants followed the same course, but moving southward after entering Europe, occupied Makedonia, Hellas, and the Peloponnesos, and here they settled and tilled the soil. These were the Pelasgians, who are everywhere the primitive people, and in all later movements are sometimes conspicuous, sometimes dimly apparent as the fundamental element, though under various names. A third wave was composed of the Dorians, a race less numerous, but of very warlike spirit, who took the same way as the Pelasgians, but made a temporary settlement in the north of Hellas, in the mountains and about Olympos. A fourth and last wave, which may have split off from the Dorians, were the Ionians. These did not pass the Hellespont, but turning southward, occupied the whole west coast of Asia Minor, and thence spreading from island to island, reached, at last, the east coast of Greece, where they *Ionized* Attika especially, and made it the mother-land of Ionia.

Here, however, as indeed nearly everywhere, they encountered a foreign people who had already established themselves—the Phoinikians. Starting originally from the Euphrates, and forced forward by reiterated impulses from Asia, the Phoinikians found themselves at last crowded into a narrow strip of land and a few towns on the Syrian coast, and were thus in a manner thrust out into the sea. They became seafarers, manufacturers and traffickers, merchants—pirates when occasion offered. Thus, in quest of the purple murex, metals, and other commodities of trade, they went to the islands, the Asian coast, to Attika and Argolis, established factories, trading-posts, marts, one of which existed in the earliest times on the Argive coast, and wherever they went introduced their traffic and their arts. Their gods, too, they brought with them. The Sidonians carried with them, in all their voyages, the statue of Astarte, and wherever they settled arose places of her worship. In this way she came to Greece, “the foreign Aphrodite,” the foam-born love-goddess, because she had come over the waves and risen from their foam. In Corinth, on the isthmus, the favourite depot of Phoinikian trade, was her chief seat, and her priestesses and female attendants had all the skill in dyeing and weaving which the Phoinikians had taught them. The Tyrians, again, never embarked without taking with them the statue of Herakles Melkart. In him, as Herakles Melikertes, the Greeks embodied the voyaging and trafficking of the Phoinikians, and their maraudings and piracies as well. His deeds and adventures are theirs. Herakles, the lion-subduer, is an Asiatic, a Phoinikian figure; the Pillars of Hercules, at the outlet of the Mediterranean, mark the limits of their voyages at that period; they it was who brought the golden apples of the Hesperides from Africa, and the herds of Geryon from Spain; their works, such as dykes and excavations, canals and river-clearings, are typified in his labours.

The Ionians learned from the Phoinikians, grew up beside them, and became seafarers

HISTORY AND POLITICAL CONDITION.

and their rivals. United with them for a time—as Iolaos becomes the companion of Herakles—their competition soon grew to antagonism, the Phoinikians were driven from the Aegæan Sea and the Greek coast. Following in their tracks, the Ionians appear in Syria and Egypt, always under the same name, though in various forms. In the time of the Hyksos dynasty—about 1500 B. C.—they even attempted conquests and settlements at the mouths of the Nile, but without success. But they learned from the Phoinikians and Egyptians, and all that they thus gained they brought back to Greece. It is these Ionians who had acquired knowledge in the East whom we must recognize in the strangers who bring new arts and more advanced civilization. Io, daughter of the King of Argos, driven over sea and land, finds repose in Egypt, and from Egypt Danaos returns to Argos. Kadmos, the Phoinikian, follows the track of Europa, and founds the Kadmeia in Boiotia. These are Greeks, of the same race, of the same language; but they come from a foreign land, and bring foreign manners and foreign lore.

It was, at best, a wild and disordered condition of things that prevailed during this period of rivalry between the Phoinikians and Ionians. The process of clearing up, which displays itself in the founding of single states, such as now begin to emerge, shrouded in myths, from the twilight of legend, went on but slowly. The first kingdom is that of the fabulous Minos, King of Crete, who brought the Aegæan Sea under the rule of law, and made a number of islands, and even Attika, his subjects or tributaries. In Boiotia, by the lake Kopais, the Minyai created at Orchomenos, the first walled city of Greece, an ordered state, whose remains may now be seen in the Katabothra, massive constructions of stone, partly subterranean, which carried off the overflow of the lake, and thus changed the wide, marshy vale into rich, arable soil. In another part of Boiotia, at Thebes, arose the kingdom of the Kadmeones; while in the Peloponnesos, which bears their name or that of their founder, the rule of the Pelopidai at Mykenai extended far and wide. Pelops, the son of Tantalos, came from Lydia, where he left his sister Niobe, whose blooming children perished by the shafts of Apollo and Artemis; this is the river, that pines and flows as it were in tears, when the fierce sun of summer has dried up its children, the brooks. From the land of gold, from Siplyos and Tmolos, from Paktolos bearing golden sands, Pelops came, bringing fabulous treasures, and with these won the lordship over the lands and strongholds of the Achaïans in Argolis.

With rule came the lust for rule, and this brought jealousy, rivalry, family discord, war, and murder for the throne. The princely houses were deeply stained with blood-guiltiness; atrocity followed atrocity in the houses of the Labdakidai at Thebes, and the Pelopidai or Atreidai at Mykenai; and while the former line perished with the children of Oidipus, in the latter entered at last Apollo, the god of light, the reconciler and bestower of blessings, who atoned the guilt, took off the curse, and drove away the Erinnyes, the dread impersonators of this wild, evil, and terrible time.

Here, properly speaking, ended the heroic age; but not from these states, which, as legend and poetry tell, united at last in a common war against Troy, sprang the political form of the Greece of history. Once more, still shrouded in legend, yet nearer to true and accredited history, there came a movement among the various races, which traversed Greece from the farthest north to extreme south, and, rolling back like a surf, dashed its waves against the Asian coast. This was the wandering of the Dorians and Herakleidai. From this first came the permanent settlement of the tribes, and that organization of cities which forms the foundation of Greek history and of the development of Hellenic civilization.

It is worthy of note that the movement had its origin in a region which, in a later

GREECE.

time, was hardly reckoned as Greek—as half-barbarian at the best. Even the twofold name of the Greeks—*Graikoi*, *Græci*, as the Romans called them, and *Hellenes*, as they called themselves—may be traced back here. In Epeiros Pelasgian tribes had long dwelt in peace, united around the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona, which was revered wherever the Pelasgians were found. Even Achilles prayed to the Pelasgian Zeus of Dodona. But a warlike tribe of Epeirots, called Thessalians, poured over Pindos into the fruitful valley of the Peneios, there established themselves, and gave the land their name. The earlier inhabitants were driven out; the Boiotians, of Pelasgic race, moved southward, and seized, or at least



SITE OF DODONA.

mastered, the land of the Minyai and Kadmeones, to which they gave their name. The Dorians, who had their settlements about Olympos, and the famous vale of Tempe, through which the Peneios, flowing from Thessaly, makes its way to the sea, were driven northward. But they drew together again, united with the Herakleidai, or Hylleans, descendants of Herakles or his son Hyllos, under whose leadership they forced their way through Thessaly, and established themselves on the southern confines of Doris. Here they joined a confederacy of small tribes, which, under the name of Amphiktyonia, had its centre at the sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo at Delphi; a confederacy, which, in addition to the community of worship at the federal holy-place, fulfilled the earliest requirements of culture, and tended to produce a higher civilization. It was not formed for mutual defence; but it was a part of the compact that no member of the league should have its towns utterly destroyed, nor, in the event of war or siege, should any be cut off from water. The accession of the Dorians gave this league importance; and in all probability it was they who gave its members the collective name of Hellenes, by which they were first called. The legend represents Hellen and Amphiktyon as brothers.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL CONDITION.



VALE OF TEMPE, WITH OLYMPOS AND THE PENEIOS.

But the Dorians, fighters by vocation, could not rest cooped up among the mountain-ranges of Hellas; so, without abandoning Doris, they pushed out with the Herakleidai and many adventurers of other tribes, to seek habitations more to their mind. The Herakleidai brought forward their hereditary claim to the Peloponnesos, from which their ancestor had been driven by Eurystheus. Beaten back at the Isthmus, Oxylos, the Aitolian, led them across the gulf; and while he took for his own the land of Elis, the Dorians and Herakleidai acquired, not by a sudden invasion, but after much toil and fighting, and partly indeed by negotiation, the three states, Argolis, Lakonia and Messenia.

The movement did not end here. A part of the Dorians went to Crete, and there founded a Dorian state, which became a pattern to the mother-country. Another part, leaving Argolis, turned back northwards over the Isthmus, and conquered and *Dorized* Megaris; but at Attika legend says through the self-sacrifice of Kodros—they were brought to a stand. A third part joined itself to a movement which had been brought about by the Dorians indirectly. The peoples whom they had alarmed or pressed upon were again looking for new abodes, and among these were Achaïans who had been forced to abandon their strong cities in Argolis, and now gave their name to the region of Achaïa, on the south of the Gulf of Krissa or Corinth. In Attika, especially, and in the coast-towns of Boiotia, wanderers of all races took refuge; Aioliens, Ionians, Achaïans; among them noble and wealthy families, such as the descendants of Nestor, from Pylos. Here they assembled, and from these ports, but especially from Aulis, they took ship, and passing from island to island, as so many stations on the way, reached, at last, the coast of Asia Minor. And here they found everywhere kindred races, who had succeeded the old Ionians, such as the Dardanians in the Troad. Not until after much hard fighting did the new-comers get

GREECE.



PRESENT ASPECT OF THE PLAIN OF TROY.

possession of the old towns, which they partly destroyed and partly reconstructed. In this way arose the Aiolian, Ionian and Dorian colonies, which were destined soon to surpass in culture the mother-land.

Out of these struggles for settlements—at least such is the view taken by many writers—arose the legend of the Trojan war. All that is certain is that the Homeric songs had their origin and development there on the coast of Asia Minor. But whether the Atreidai and their companions among the princes of Greece really took any part in the war, and whether their adventures, during and after the return, are not pure inventions, is more than questionable.

One contribution to the solution of these questions has been made by the discoveries of Schliemann in Mykenai and the Troad, but it is at best only a contribution. They have not answered with certainty, either the questions as to the existence and site of Troy, or those relating to the fates of the Atreidai. Where most of the scholars of to-day place the site



GOLD DIADEM FOUND AT HISSARLIK.
Composed of fine chains and leaves.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL CONDITION.

of Troy, absolutely nothing has been found proving the existence of such a city; but there, where the ancients themselves fixed the position of Ilium, upon the present hill of Hissarlik, Schliemann has discovered, in countless abundance, relics proving the existence, not only of a town, but of one which had more than once been destroyed by fire and sword, exactly as is told of Troy. These general facts are not to be denied or argued away, and they will forever perpetuate the fame of their discoverer.

But another contradiction presents itself, which, so far, has not been reconciled. The state of culture which meets us everywhere in the Homeric poems is one far more advanced than that revealed by the remains found at Hissarlik. Centuries must lie between them,



GATE OF THE LIONS AT MYKENAI (RESTORED)

but how many, who can say? for the relics found at Hissarlik are of the most primitive kind, while the culture in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is in no wise such.

At all events, one characteristic which agrees with the legend of Troy, that is, high antiquity, is conceded by apparently a majority of scholars to that wonderful, fabulous treasure-trove so lately discovered in the stronghold of Mykenai, the ancient seat of Agamemnon. Schliemann, relying upon a tradition—which, it is true, we only have from the comparatively late report of Pausanias—believes that he has here found the graves of Agamemnon and his family; and his view has been accepted by scholars of good repute. From these graves he has brought to light whole treasures of gold; utensils, pieces of armour, weapons, masks, ornaments of all kinds. The immense importance of these discoveries, as illustrating the development of Greek civilization, is denied by none. It is even enhanced by similar discoveries of antiquities belonging to nearly the same time, which Cesnola, within

GREECE.



VIEW OF SCHLIEMANN'S EXCAVATIONS AT MYKENAI
In the foreground is the so-called *agora*, in which are the graves

the last ten years, has made at Cyprus; and which at least give us glimpses into the culture of a period in which all history floats in the mist of legend. Some even ascribe to these relics from Mykenai a higher antiquity than the time of the Atreidai, supporting their view by the fact that the remains of buildings, such as the walls and the Gate of the Lions, as well as that subterranean structure called the Treasury of Atreus, which were famous even in antiquity, exhibit such differences of architecture that they can hardly belong to one period. But to these it may be answered that the time of the Atreidai is itself undetermined, and can be pushed back at pleasure. Others again argue that it is the house of Atreus, and no other, to which the tradition preserved in Homer ascribes the golden treasures; and Pelops, founder of this race, as was said above, came from the gold-land of Asia Minor, and brought, as the legend ran, his treasures thence. Even the graves, and the so-called treasury, tradition expressly associated with Atreus and his house, while it attributed the building of the walls of Mykenai to another race.

But even if this discrepancy between the state of culture shown by the Homeric poems and that indicated by the antiquities found in the Troad and at Mykenai forbids our drawing conclusions from the latter which shall have a bearing upon the Iliad and Odyssey, this fact does not lessen the value of these poems for the history of civilization. They give a true picture of the time in which they arose. This picture corresponds to the state of things which existed when, as a consequence of the Dorian movement, the Aioliens, Ionians and Dorians crossed over to Asia Minor and struggled to establish themselves. If we would fix an approximate date to the period here described, we may take the tenth century before the Christian era.



GOLDEN VESSELS OF THE AGE OF THE KINGS OF MYKENAI.
Wine-jugs and beakers, adorned with Greek designs, drawn in their uninjured state. Found by Schliemann at the stronghold of Mykenai.



MYKENAL

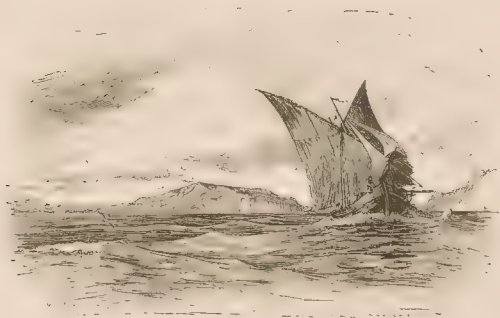
HISTORY AND POLITICAL CONDITION.



PREHISTORIC POTTERY FROM CYPRUS.
From Cesnola's excavations.

As before remarked, the state of culture that we find in the Homeric poems is far from being a primitive one, either in the relations of man to man, in the religious system, or the political circumstances. The Greek polytheism here has assumed the form of a complete and closed company of gods; indeed, in the way in which these gods are depicted with human frailties, both the great and the petty, not without a touch of irony, there seems to lurk a shade of scepticism. The priesthood has attained position and influence; in the state order prevails, and the king is still the solitary ruler, the highest and last judge. His authority is not restricted, but he listens to the voices of the nobles who, at a later date, are to limit his power, and at last to overthrow it. In Thersites alone do we find a trace of insolent demagoguery; but he has no following; there is no Demos to save him from instant and shameful chastisement. The poet himself shares the prevailing sentiment, and is not yet found on the side of these anticipations and harbingers of a new epoch. He still holds to the old order of things, the absolute monarchy—kingship by the grace of God:

——— Ill fares the state
Where many masters rule: let one be Lord,
One King supreme; to whom wise Saturn's son,
In token of his sovereign power, hath given
The sceptre's sway and ministry of law.



ITHAKA.



VIEW FROM THE ROCKS OF THE PEIRAIOS, LOOKING TOWARD ATHENS.

2.

AGE OF THE FORMATION OF STATES,

TO THE PERSIAN WARS.



URING its second period, that is, from the close of the Dorian migration to the beginning of the Persian wars, or about five hundred years before the Christian era, we find in Greek history three leading movements. First, there is the growth of Sparta and of Athens, bringing about their rivalry and struggle for the hegemony—the leadership of Hellenic policy; secondly, it is a period of the highest importance in the history of political development, the transformation of the state from monarchy to democracy; thirdly, we have the diffusion of

Hellenism through the colonies and all the eastern half of the Mediterranean.

It was long ere the new masters, the Dorians and Herakleidai, were firmly established in the Peloponnesos; and centuries of fighting had to be done before the new and the old inhabitants had found their places in the new system of things. From the new and the old states there finally came to the front Lakonia, Argos and Messenia, the former the most *Dorized*, and the latter



SPARTA.

Viewed from the temple.

The temple is situated on the summit of a hill, and is the most remarkable monument of the city. It is a large, square building, with a high, pitched roof, and is surrounded by a wall. In the foreground, there is a large, open space, which is the site of the ancient agora. The hills in the background are covered with dense forests, and the river is visible in the distance.

AGE OF THE FORMATION OF STATES.

the least. For a time it seemed as if Argos, now the new capital in the place of Mykenai, would secure the supremacy once wielded by Agamemnon; but she soon fell back before the greater strength and more vigorous policy of Sparta, that raised herself to the leadership of the Dorian peoples, and became the moving spirit of politics and culture.

Perhaps nowhere were the circumstances more unfavourable to the establishment of a solid polity than in Lakonia. In addition to the dissension between the old inhabitants and the new, there was the evil of a double royal line and two simultaneous kings. At last, in their



MARKET-PLACE OF SPARTA.

In the background the citadel; in the foreground the statue of Hermes Agoraios, with the infant Bacchos; in the middle distance the statue of the Spartan people, with the temple of the Mourai, containing the bones of Orestes, a little to the left; on the right the Persian hall, adorned with the spoils of the Persian war.

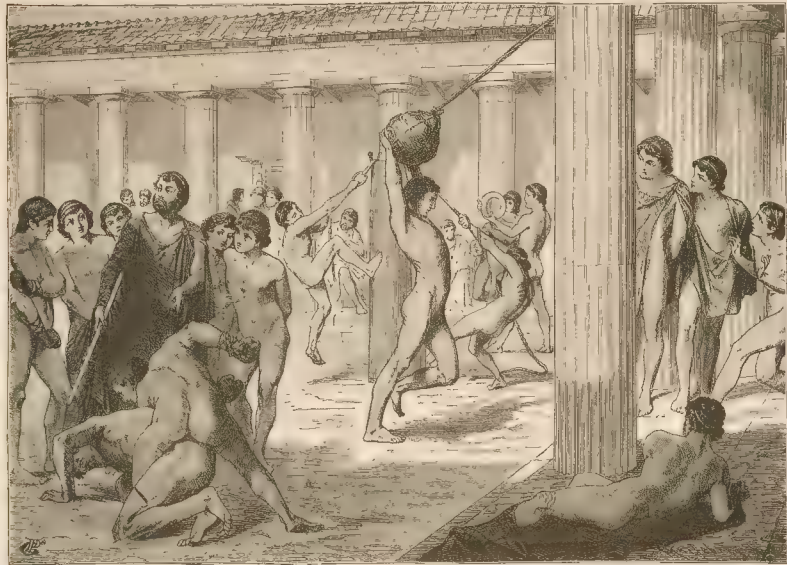
utmost need, a deliverer arose in Lykurgos (884 B. C.), who, by his constitution, succeeded in reconciling the antagonisms, and bringing all into legal order. His success was such that he determined Sparta's destiny and place in history for all succeeding time.

Lykurgos had travelled much, and had found his model in Krete. Here, too, a body of Dorian warriors had come, too weak to seize the supremacy, but too strong to be driven out; and so distributed themselves through the whole political fabric of the state, that taking upon themselves the office of its defenders, they became its perpetual and hereditary soldiery. This was the principle from which Lykurgos started with his Dorians, or Spartans, as they were thenceforth called. As they had entered the land as soldiers, they were to be soldiers forever; and no work, no business was to interfere with this their true vocation. To make them independent, he divided the whole fair and fruitful plain of the Eurotas equally between nine thousand Spartans. These, however, were not themselves to till the land, though they

GREECE.

lived from its produce; that work was to be performed by a class of serfs bound to the soil, the Helots. The remaining land, chiefly mountainous, he distributed in thirty thousand allotments among the old inhabitants, called Perioikoi, "dwellers around." This land they held as a free people, who carried on agriculture, trade, manufactures and seafaring, and were liable to military service.

The government, however, was altogether in the hands of the Spartans. Lykurgos left the two kings undisturbed, but beyond the leadership in war, they retained only the dignity, without the power, of royalty. All decisions lay with the Spartan people themselves, but the



GYMNASTIC EXERCISES OF THE SPARTAN YOUTH

Court of the epheboi in a gymnasium, with wrestling, throwing the diskos, swinging the ball, &c.

voice of each was to be a simple ay or no: there was none of that debating and wrangling, then growing, in the Greek colonies at least, to be the general democratic custom. Next to the king, Lykurgos placed the council of the Gerontes, "old men," thirty in number, taken from the oldest and most distinguished citizens. He established—or rather continued, for the office already existed—the overseership of the six Ephoroi; an office which grew from mere superintendence of the market to a supervisorship of the state and constitution, with a final voice in all public matters. The Ephoroi restrained all things within their fixed limits, and kept the kings in their restrictions. This was the cause why the kingly office survived in Sparta, when it had long been abolished in the rest of Greece.

Lykurgos had made his Spartans free to devote themselves entirely to public and military affairs; now, to train them to the highest possible efficiency as soldiers, he placed the



THE DROMOS IN SPARTA.

education of the youth in the hands of the state. The state educated them in common, rigidly, austere: what was needed were soldiers capable of any endurance, practised in every exercise, yet not wanting in intelligence, cunning, and shrewdness—soldiers able to command and lead as well as to obey. And the full-grown men continued the practice of those exercises which they had learned in youth.

And so, naturally, with the Spartans, the family and the home fell into the background: all thoughts were for the state, and all training and education had war as its object. The unavoidable consequences were a passion for action, love of war, lust of rule; and the future of Sparta was fixed. She reached out over her borders, beyond the confines of Lakonia; and the first victim of her new spirit was the neighbouring state Messenia. Two long and bloody wars, in which not seldom the balance swayed, and Sparta almost despaired, completed Messenia's overthrow. A like attempt upon Arkadia only succeeded in bringing the brave town Tegea to a military alliance.

But though conquest was checked, the influence of Sparta widened. Around the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, situated where the Alpheios issues from the mountains into the plain, the towns Elis and Pisa contended for the wardenship and conduct of the Olympic games. The former called the Spartans to their aid, the latter the Argives. Pisa succumbed, was destroyed, and vanished from the earth. Elis took the conduct of the games; but Sparta became their guardian, and thus placed herself at the head of the Amphiktyonic league, which had formed around the sanctuary and the games. This made her the leading state in the Peloponnesos; and her influence rose to the hegemony when she had succeeded in freeing the states and cities from their local rulers, the so-called tyrants. But in the interval, while Sparta was consolidating herself under the constitution of Lykurgos, the other states had passed through a whole series of political changes, whose course, in the main, was the same in all.

These began in the Ionian cities of Asia Minor, Miletos at their head. The mobile temperament of the Ionians, their rapid development, the possibility, in the narrow limits of the city, for the whole body of citizens to conduct their public affairs in person, made the office of king superfluous, and it was abolished. But what took the place of the king, at first, was not the whole body of citizens, but the rich and distinguished families. Thus royalty passed first into aristocracy; or, where there were but a few families to take the conduct of affairs, into oligarchy, the rule of a few.

As by the development of commerce and industry the body of the people increased in wealth and importance, it grew at the same time to political power and influence, and began to struggle for a share in the government and for the control of its own interests. In this way an opposition to the aristocracy arose in the populace, the *demos*. But its time had not yet come. The *demos*, still in its minority, placed itself under the leadership of bold and shrewd heads, who aimed at their own advantage. Supported by the favour of the people, defended by a body-guard, they intrigued for absolute power; and in this they succeeded everywhere, except where, as in Sparta, the conditions were fixed and immovable. Thus, in the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. there was over all Greece an age of tyrants.

These tyrants, having risen to power by force, could only maintain themselves by force, in strong citadels, with bodies of soldiers. They perpetrated cruelties of every description, and the worst acts of tyranny. Slavishness and demoralization followed, and the feeling of nationality gave way to selfishness. But there were ways in which even this state of things—unintentionally, it is true—had an elevating effect upon the nation. Bold and determined men turned the looks of their people outward, and by large enterprises widened their political hori-

GREECE.

zon. They indulged in luxury, not only for gratification, but to keep the hands and minds of the people employed; they patronized industry and art, and drew to their courts all celebrities in learning or in poetry. They adorned the temples of the gods with precious works of art. They built much, and on a noble scale—temples, palaces, citadels, as well as works of general utility, such as harbours, canals, aqueducts. Even in a political sense the tyrants wrought for the future. By abolishing the aristocracy, and humbling or banishing the ancient ruling families, they introduced political equality, and paved the way for the democracy that was ripening fast beneath them. Thus, in the light of politics as well as of civilization, the tyranny was a



GULF OF CORINTH.

On the left the peak Akro Akorinthos, at the foot of which, on the farther side, old Corinth was situated. On the right is the northern coast of Peloponnesos, with its mountains rising in the background.

necessary stage of transition. Upon its fall arose spontaneously the rule of the demos, and the expansion of literature and art may be dated from this rise.

Of these tyrants, the most influential and most powerful were Kleisthenes the Orthagorid in Sikyon, Kypselos and Periandros in Corinth, Polykrates in Samos, and Peisistratos at Athens. They all ruled with vigour and unquestionable ability; to a certain extent even wisely and benevolently. Periandros was reckoned one of the seven sages of Greece. But their sons or successors did not resemble them, and could not maintain their inherited position. It was not long before they fell, partly by internal conspiracies, and partly by the exertions of Sparta, always the strongest opposer of the tyranny. Sparta, solidly established, with firmly fixed relations and a conservative constitution, saw in the tyrants, as the representatives of violent change, a perpetual danger to herself. In her efforts to enlarge her importance she everywhere encountered the resistance of these tyrants, who drew close together and opposed league to league. Even nationality and national freedom were threatened when the tyrants, seeking to



Tenue.

Academy of Athens.
Cyprian of the Krimon
C. 1800.

The Cyprian of the Krimon
C. 1800.

CORINTH.

Seen from the quarters.

strengthen themselves, sought alliances with foreign princes and lands, with Egypt, Lydia, Persia, and thus brought the Barbarian world against Greece. Thus it was quite as much in their own immediate interest as for the sake of the whole Hellenic people that the Spartans undertook an energetic policy against the tyrants, and by expelling these became the champions and liberators of Greece. Out of this struggle they came with increased importance and influence, an influence which now extended far beyond Peloponnesos. And now they came in contact with the power of Athens, which, in the meantime, had been strengthening itself, and had nearly completed a cycle of its peculiar and isolated history.

Attika, a headland embraced by the sea, and separated from the mass of Hellas by mountain ranges, had been comparatively undisturbed by the invasion of the Herakleidai. At all events it had gone through no revolution like the other states. Immigrants, it is true, came in abundance, and from all sides: Messenians, Ionians, Aiolians, Achaians, Aiginetans, for the most part noble and wealthy families, who were received into the land and the community, and gave the population the more excitable and mobile blood of a mixed race. One of these families, the Neleids, or descendants of Nestor, from Pylos, even attained the kingly dignity in Athens after the extinction of the indigenous and legendary line of the Erechtheidai. But the Neleids did not long retain the kingly name, even if the authority remained. After Kodros the Neleid, who offered himself to death for his country, none was found worthy of the throne. They left to the descendants of Kodros the hereditary station, but changed the title *Basileus*, "king," to *Archon*, "ruler." Thirteen hereditary archons successively held the office for life. Then a long step further was taken toward the abolition of royalty; the office ceased to be hereditary and for life, and the archons were chosen for ten years, but always from the family of the Kodrids. Then and this was the third stage—all the nobles were made eligible, the term of office was reduced to a year, and instead of one, nine archons were chosen, who shared the duties among them.

In this way was kingship abolished, and the aristocracy, the great families, took its place, just as had happened in other states of Greece, only by a more gradual series of changes. The further political development went on in a similar progression. The aristocrats abused their power; from the oppression of the people arose the *tyrannis*, and from this the democracy.

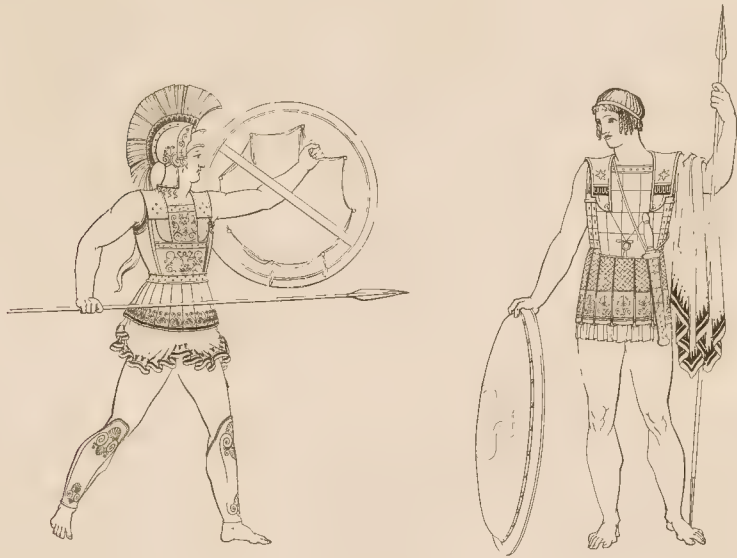
The population of Attika was divided into three classes, the Eupatridai, the Geomoroi, and the Demiourgoi, that is, nobles, tillers of the soil, and craftsmen. The Eupatridai, the owners of the best lands, trafficked with their own ships, and grew rich and powerful; while the other two classes, settled on the sterile, rocky hills, or working in the towns and villages, became debtors to the wealthy class, and more and more dependent upon them, and the Eupatridai harshly abused their position. With the fall of the monarchy they had attained the legislative power, and wielded it only in their own interests. Wrong and oppression at last aroused the spirit of opposition in the growing multitude of the lower classes, who began to resist the severity of the written law, and of the code of Drako. Avaricious Eupatridai tried to turn this rising opposition to their personal advantage. Thus arose the attempt of the young Kylon, with the help of his father-in-law, the tyrant Theagenes of Megara, to set up a tyranny in Athens. The attempt failed; the Eupatridai, under the leadership of the Alkmaionids, their richest and most powerful family, remained victors. But the opposition was not subdued; the struggle of classes continued, and the confusion and peril grew more and more.

Then, as Lykurgos had done in Sparta, a man arose in Athens who succeeded in

GREECE.

harmonizing the conflicting elements under a common political system, assigning to every class its rights and duties, and marking out a path for the future. This was Solon, a Eupatrid, a man of wealth and distinction, who had travelled in many lands, and was elevated above the prejudices and partisanship of his own; a man whom his people reckoned among the seven sages; and assuredly he deserved that title, if ever man did.

The malady from which Athens was suffering was easy to recognize, but hard to cure. Old rights, existing powers, had to be considered, and hereditary station and property respected. Solon, though sustained by the confidence of his fellow-citizens, could not attempt an ideal and absolutely perfect system, such as was later wrought out by the philosophers;



GREEK WARRIORS.

the best he could do was to provide something that was possible in the present, and left the way open to perfection in the future. The Eupatrids held the government and the power; these he could not take away, but he could at least procure for the other citizens a share of these, or open a way for their participation. This he contrived by apportioning rights and duties according to the amount of income, and that income arising from landed estates.

Solon divided the community into four classes, of which only three paid taxes, and had a right to share in the government. These three constituted the defence of the state; but the archons were chosen from the first alone. So as at that time it was only the Eupatrids who had large landed estates, it followed that for some time their ancient prescriptive right to the government was not disturbed. The fourth class was excluded from all honourable office, but had an equal voice in the popular assembly which decided in matters affecting the organic law,



VIEW OF MODERN ATHENS.

AGE OF THE FORMATION OF STATES.

or the question of peace and war, and from which were chosen the sworn judges. In this importance of the assembly lay the future of the Athenian democracy. But Solon had yet more to do for the fourth class, for this, impoverished and loaded with debt, had fallen into utter dependence upon the rich. He released them from imprisonment for debt and from the mortgages on their lands, and at least lightened their load of indebtedness by lowering the standard of the coin, and allowing their debts to be paid in the new and lighter issue. A hundred new drachmai were intrinsically worth only seventy-three of the old; but in the payment of these debts they were to be taken at their nominal value.

Well knowing that these measures would in time lead to complete political equality, Solon took care to guard against a possible overturn before they had worked out their results.



VIEW OF MODERN ATHENS.

On the left the city, next the Akropolis and ruins of the Parthenon, the ancient theatre and hill of Ares; below, the Theseion, the Muscion, the Pnyx, and last, the present observatory.

He therefore fastened a heavy counterpoise to his system by placing at the head of all a body composed of men who had filled irreproachably the highest offices. These were to watch over morals and customs, and to oppose their authority to any over-hasty innovation. This was the Areiopagos, so called from its place of meeting, the hill of Ares, which stood over against the akropolis.

Many other measures Solon introduced, intended to carry out, complete, or consolidate his system. At last, when as archon, in the year 594 B. C., he had set up the new laws in writing in the public places, and thus literally laid the copestone of his work, he took a promise from the Athenians to leave these laws unchanged for ten years. He wished them to have a full trial, and to enter into the life of the people.

Thus were the laws received and observed, and they laid, as was intended, a foundation for future development. But they could not put a check to partisanship nor to the ambition of the powerful families and their heads, who here, as in the other states and cities of Greece, aimed at kingly rule—the *tyrannis*. Despite Solon's warnings and precautions, the fate that

GREECE.

had befallen the rest befell Athens also. After various fortunes—twice successful and twice in banishment—Peisistratos finally established himself permanently in power.

Peisistratos was the ideal of a tyrant, in the better sense of the word. A born ruler, by military enterprises he won for his city a consideration it had never before enjoyed. Royal in his instincts, he surrounded himself with splendour and luxury, encouraged arts, gathered about him poets, sages, and men of letters, and bound them to himself by his liberality. With their aid he founded a library, and the first academy of learning. He had the poems of Homer collected, and, so to speak, a critical edition prepared. These poems, sprung out of legend at the beginning of this period, had now at its close become objects of critical treatment; but they had also become the common property of the whole Hellenic world, a mark that Greek literature was now advancing to its culmination.

Peisistratos ruled with justice and mildness. He respected the laws, and left the constitution of Solon undisturbed, so far as it did not conflict with his rule. Otherwise was it with Hippias, his son and successor. When his brother Hipparchos fell by the hands of Harmodios and Aristogeiton at the Panathenaic festival, the antique *tyrannos* became a tyrant in the modern sense of the word. But this only hastened his fall. In a little time he had to yield to his antagonists, who had obtained the help of the Spartans.

Athens, thus freed, only fell into new party-dissensions. The Eupatrids, brought back by the Spartans, tried to restore the old state of things, and to overthrow the constitution of Solon. But in the meantime the popular party had been so strengthened by this constitution and under the rule of Peisistratos, that it only needed a leader to advance to victory. This leader was found in the Alkmaionid Kleisthenes, whom ambition and lust of power placed at their head, and he, by the changes that he introduced into the constitution, broke the compact power of the nobility. Regardless of the ancient adjustment, he divided the land and the people anew into ten classes, which, like modern departments, formed the districts of government and finance. He further admitted a host of new citizens, drawn from the class of craftsmen and tradesmen, who hitherto had only been tolerated, into the popular assembly, and thus increased its number and the democratic element. Finally—and this was a bold and thoroughly democratic innovation, resting upon the idea of political equality—he caused the highest offices to be assigned by lot: it is true, only among the few who were qualified to hold them.

If Kleisthenes did not himself enjoy the fruit of his undertaking, as little successful was his antagonist Isagoras with the aristocratic party. These, brought back by the warlike Spartan king Kleomenes, and restored to power, aroused by their violence an outbreak of the people from which both they and Kleomenes barely escaped. In vain did the Spartan, who recognized in Athens the growing rival of his own state, summon the Peloponnesian league and the Boiotians to the contest, even calling in the banished Hippias. The Peloponnesians refused: they were little inclined to join the Spartans, who had won their fame and position by the deposition of the tyrants, in an attempt to replace a tyrant on the throne. The Boiotians came, and were beaten by the Athenians; and the same fate, on the same day, befell the Chalkidians at Euboea, whose city, Chalkis, the mother of many colonies, now became herself a colony of Athens.

Thus from all her struggles and combats Athens emerged victorious; and in Athens the victory was won by the Solonian constitution, and in the latter by the democracy.¹ To the democracy belonged the future. But Sparta and Athens, henceforth rivals for the hegemony, had come into sharp collision, and this contest could not fail to be renewed, although the common necessity and peril of the Persian war kept it for a while in abeyance. And even for this

AGE OF THE FORMATION OF STATES.

war an opening had been made, partly in the way of interference in the contest about Athens, but chiefly through the colonies, and their relations to their powerful neighbour to the east.

These colonies are a noteworthy phenomenon, not in Greek history alone, but in the history of the world. The mother-land, first in her uneasy movements, and then in her flourishing prosperity, sends out the overplus of her population to found new cities on distant shores. These cities, prospering more rapidly than their parent, follow her example. Thus Hellenism, the Greek speech, Greek manners and organization was carried to all lands where a fertile soil, a good harbour, trade or traffic invited. Around the whole coast of the Black Sea, to the farther shore of the Sea of Azov, extended these colonies; and Greek culture bloomed among the barbarous Scythians. The Thrakian coast is dotted with countless Greek towns; the colonies stretch along the Levant and reach to the mouth of the Nile, then create a new Greece at Kyrene on the Lybian coast. All around the Adriatic extend Greek settlements, and southern Italy becomes *Magna Græcia*. Even in Gaul, *Massilia*, the Phokaian city, diffuses Greek culture; more than half Sicily becomes Greek. The western side alone remains to their rivals, the Phoinikians or Carthaginians, who try, moreover, to keep the western half of the Mediterranean for themselves; but throughout the whole east a broad girdle of blooming daughter-states surrounds the mother-state. This girdle is an outwork against the barbarians, but it also invites the barbarians, who strive to break through it. Kroisos, the Lydian king, had made the trial, not without success; so much the less could his mighty conqueror, the Persian, refrain from the attempt.





THE PARTHENON AT THE TIME OF PERIKLES.

3.

THE PERIOD OF DEMOCRACY AND THE CONTESTS FOR THE HEGEMONY.



ORD, remember the Athenians!" So the Persian king ordered himself to be reminded every day, that he might not forget his vengeance, and the punishment he had sworn to inflict on the handful of people that had dared to give help to his enemies.

With the suppression of the Ionian revolt the barrier fell which had hitherto interposed between Greece and the great Persian empire, and the barbarian world was now free to sweep over the originators and diffusers of culture. Asia might fall upon Europe, and, at a single blow, crush out the life which was just blooming as the light of the world, a blessing to all coming time. The barbarian did not hesitate.

Under Dareios the Persian empire had grown to a solid power of immense strength, ruled by a single iron will. What resistance could Hellas, small, divided, and inharmonious, offer? All that

THE PERIOD OF DEMOCRACY.



PLAIN OF MARATHON.

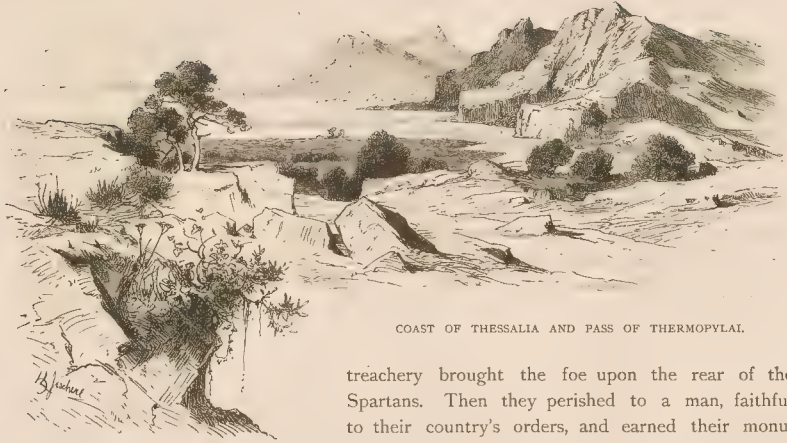
seemed to be needed was an army and a fleet of moderate size. The first blow was aimed directly at Athens; but on the plain of Marathon the courage of the citizens, and the firmness and skill of Miltiades, drove the Persian host of tenfold their number back to the sea and their ships, and Greece and Greek culture were saved for the time.



A SOLDIER OF MARATHON.
From the monument of Arisdon.

But the danger was by no means over, though internal troubles in the Persian empire prevented its renewal until a new king mounted the throne, haughty and arrogant, mighty and boastful, a genuine Asiatic despot of the type often met in history. Xerxes gathered the nations of his vast empire, from the Aithiopians to the Massagetai beyond the Kaspian Sea, from the Indus to Thrace; black Nubians, brown Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians and Phoinikians of the Shemitic races, all the white races of the Iranians, the fleet horsemen of the steppe, Phrygians and Lydians—such an army and such a fleet as the world had never seen. Ten years after the overthrow at Marathon, this host of millions poured over the Hellespont, which in vain broke down the bridges to prevent the passage. Onward the march went, through Thrakia and Makedonia, but between Thessalia and Hellas proper, at Thermopylai, where Mt. Oita leaves but a narrow pass between itself and the sea, a handful of Greeks—three hundred Spartans, under their king, Leonidas, with a few allies; a force hardly obtained from the careless confidence of the people—was awaiting them. Vain was the furious onslaught of the Persians; charge after charge was hurled back, until

GREECE.



COAST OF THESSALIA AND PASS OF THERMOPYLAI.

treachery brought the foe upon the rear of the Spartans. Then they perished to a man, faithful to their country's orders, and earned their monument and epitaph :

Go tell the Spartans, thou who passest by,
That here, obedient to their laws, we lie.

The way was now open, and the Persian host swept down upon Attika. But Athens had made ready for it. In Themistokles she had found a man able to cope with the greatest perils. At once prudent and energetic, he had forced Athens to build a navy in almost breathless haste ; the women and children were conveyed to places of safety, and the men, embarking in the fleet, abandoned their land and city to the foe. Temples and habitations sank in ashes ; but Athens was afloat, safe behind the " wooden walls " of her ships. The Persian fleet reckoned on shutting up and destroying its despised antagonist in the strait of Salamis ; and Xerxes himself came to be a spectator of his victory. But the ruler of the world saw only his own overthrow. In desperation he hurried off to secure a retreat, and his fleet fled in haste to the Asiatic coast. Yet Greece was not yet safe. The Persian army, under Mardonios, wintered in Thessaly ; and only the Persian defeat at Plataiai, by the combined forces under the Spartan king Pausanias and the Athenian general Aristeides, secured Hellas finally and forever from the Persian yoke, and Hellenic culture from barbaric destruction. Salamis and Plataiai saved the civilization of the world. The blow was soon returned, and a Greek fleet crossed over to attack Asia. Mykale, Eurymedon, the Cypriot Salamis, mark the stages of this new movement, so many trophies of Europe's victories over Asia.

The great time produced great men : as Themistokles had succeeded Miltiades, so Kimon took Themistokles' place to lead the Athenians to new triumphs.

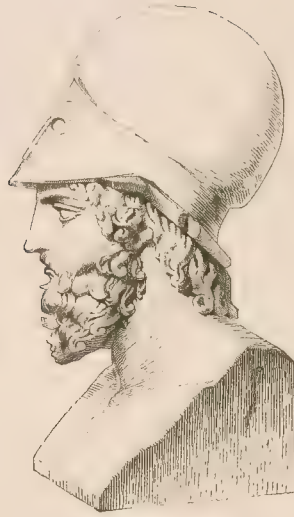


BATTLE-FIELD OF PLATAIA.

THE PERIOD OF DEMOCRACY.



MILTIADES.



THEMISTOKLES.

The Persians had been repulsed, all danger from Asia removed, and the house of Xerxes himself, as if in punishment of his arrogance, was filled with crime and horror. But already the antagonistic forces which were the moving springs in Greek history were once more in action. If Sparta's jealousy had been aroused before, now it blazed out all the more fiercely that Athens had won a position of equal importance with her own. If Athens had voluntarily yielded to Sparta the chief command on land, the course of events would have naturally allotted to the former city the leadership at sea. It was due in chief to the exertions of Athens that the islands and the coast of Asia Minor were freed from the Persian yoke; and it was but natural that these should form a naval alliance, with Athens as its head.



MEGARA AND SALAMIS.

GREECE.

In this way matters might have arranged themselves peacefully, Athens having the hegemony at sea, and Sparta on land; and indeed for a while it seemed as if things would take this course. But the Spartans would not be altogether excluded from the sea, nor the Athenians from the land; and the discontented allies on both sides embroiled them in quarrels, so that even before the so-called Peloponnesian war, the inevitable struggle for supremacy, which became at last a struggle for existence, had actually begun.

This decisive struggle was all the more inevitable from the fact that two irreconcilable political principles were involved. The fundamental political trait of the Spartans was steadfastness; that of Athens, mobility. The constitution of Sparta was aristocratic, and became even more intensely and rigidly so, as the number of Spartan families diminished. They held tenaciously to the constitution of Lykurgos, despite all changes in Hellas, and all the events of Greek history. On the other hand, in Athens all tended toward democracy; the spirit of Solon's system was breaking through the fetters of formal ordinances. Aristides himself, the head of the conservatives, after the Persian war made the motion that all classes had an equal right to share in the government, since all had suffered alike, and all alike striven to save their country. It was this that brought him the name of "The Just." The last barrier fell with the Areiopagos. This poets, philosophers and historians, sculptors, painters and architects. A wondrous city rises from the ashes of the Persian conflagration; a city of works of art and monuments which have served as models for all succeeding time. But the other day the cart of Thespis was going from village to village, and now there is a theatre, a dramatic art, a tragedy full of thought, sublime, of thrilling power, of classic completeness, the admiration of which has lasted unimpaired to this day.

If Athens, Greece, the world, owe all these creations to the democratic form of the political life, and if this raised patriotism to a lofty enthusiasm, yet the darker side of this unchecked freedom soon began to be seen. The men who had been the creators of this greatness, Miltiades, Themistokles, Kimon, soon learned the fickleness of the *aura popularis*, the speedy oblivion of desert, the ingratitude of the people, and paid for their own and their country's greatness with condemnation, ruin, or banishment. Participation in public affairs elevated the populace,



PERIKLES,
From the bust in the Louvre.

THE PERIOD OF DEMOCRACY.

and made them acquainted with law, justice, and the constitution ; but it also kept them from honest work ; and, all the more, that they were paid for this very participation, for their attendance at court, and even at the theatre. Easily led, as the multitude always is, it soon became a mere plaything for the popular orators, who knew its tastes, pandered to its passions, and flattered its prejudices. Thus, unavoidably, with time the bad elements rose to the surface and obtained the mastery ; the noisy haranguers, the crafty sophists, the venal sycophants. Customs and morals, law and right, began to decline ; unbelief and superstition, free thought and religious persecution, arrogance and cruelty, were alike and together the consequences of democracy.



SYRACUSE.

So long as Athens still followed her great men, so long as she still obeyed a Perikles—who himself was not altogether spared by ingratitude—the good results of democracy more than counterbalanced the bad. Perikles, of unimpeachable purity of character, standing high above the mass in intellect and culture, of an ideal nature, aiming at the highest and fairest ends for his native city, exerted all his powers to keep the people and the state at his own level. Never a flatterer, often a reprover of his fellow-citizens, he guided them with wisdom and firmness in the way of sound policy, while at the same time he made the city the centre and focus of the highest art and civilization.

Perikles would willingly have prevented or deferred the decisive struggle, but affairs had reached such a pass that he had himself to advise it, and thus, in the year 431 B. C., began that fatal contest of twenty-seven years, called the Peloponnesian war, but which in reality was a war of all Greece, in which Hellas mangled her own body and shed her own blood. For the seat of war continually changed, and one after another all states, cities, and islands were involved, and even the farthest colonies felt the convulsions of the mother-country. Nor was it

GREECE.

only an external foe who devastated the land or the city, and massacred prisoners in cold blood. In every state and city there was internal strife. Everywhere there were two parties, the aristocrats and the democrats, struggling for the mastery, the former with the help of Sparta, and the latter with that of Athens, and fighting with a sanguinary fury such as civil war alone can beget. The atrocities of Kerkyra are a specimen of the whole.

The fortunes of the war were as variable as its seat. At first the star of Athens seemed to pale. Pestilence broke out among the population who had crowded within the walls at the invasion of the Spartans, and the frightful mortality broke their courage, and crippled their undertakings. But the success of Demosthenes in Messenia, the siege of Pylos, the capture of the Spartans on the island of Sphakteria by the tanner Kleon, chief of noisy demagogues, the attacks of Nikias upon Lakonia, these in turn brought Sparta almost to despair. Athens was at the zenith of her power. Then fortune once more changed. Brasidas, Sparta's ablest general, adroitly changed the seat of war to the Strymon on the coast of Macedonia, where Athens had colonies, and whence she drew a large part of her revenues. Fortune had



ALKIBIADES.
Bust in the Charamont Museum in Rome.

already rewarded this bold stroke of Brasidas, when death put an end to his successful campaign. Failure, or doubtful success, had wearied both cities, and Nikias, the Athenian general (in 421 B. C.) concluded a peace.

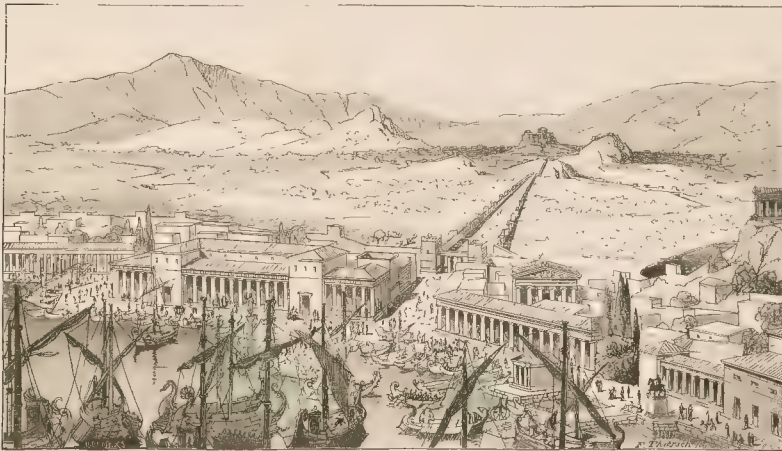
But in reality it was no peace, nor does it count as one in history. The war was kept alive by the allies, and its theatre transferred to a distance from the parent states. In Sicily fortune held out a tempting lure to the Athenians, where the contentions of the colonies seemed to invite to the conquest of the lovely island, and to open beyond this a splendid perspective of victory and power, bright enough and uncertain enough to dazzle and bewilder them. Despite many warning voices, they yielded to the temptation, made mightier preparations for war than ever before, and sent the flower of their warriors to the combat. At first they were successful, notwithstanding the mismanagement of their generals. Syracuse, the objective point of the expedition, was besieged and on the point of surrender, when one man changed the success of Athens to ruin, and her triumph to despair. Sparta sent to the aid of Syracuse a single general, Gylippos. In the beleaguered city he created an army and a fleet, and sent them out to battle and to victory. Ships, troops, and leaders of the Athenians all perished or fell into the hands of the Syracusans, who cruelly abused their triumph. Hardly were enough spared to tell in Athens the story of the hideous disaster.

Athens was a crushed, almost a ruined city; her brightest hopes had come to naught, her power and influence were lost, and her walls resounded with lamentations for the fall of her best and bravest. And yet she had wilfully driven from her the only man able to raise her once more from ruin and despair. Alkibiades, most brilliant of her sons, had been sacrificed to party-hate and the fickleness of the people, and even—in his absence—condemned to death. But Alkibiades was no Aristides or Kimon, to think, even in banishment, only of the welfare

THE PERIOD OF DEMOCRACY.

of his country. He was the child of his race and time, uniting the vices and the virtues of Athens; rich and noble, refined and reckless, ambitious and unscrupulous. The favourite pupil of Sokrates, that sage had never been able to moderate his passions and desires, and bring them within the bounds of reason and philosophy. Alkibiades was whatever he chose to be: orator, soldier, general, statesman and diplomatist; a Spartan with the Spartans, an Asiatic with the Persians, at home in every position, the ruling spirit in every danger or difficulty. There was no Athens without Alkibiades. If his city had cast him forth, he would force her to call him back as her deliverer.

In vain did Athens strive, with the elasticity peculiar to popular governments, to raise herself from her prostrate condition. Fleet after fleet she sent out to disaster after disaster.



THE PEIRAIOS.
With Long Walls Restored.

At length fortune seemed once more to smile upon her. The fleet itself summoned Alkibiades to the chief command, and at Kyzikos, in the Sea of Marmora, the Peloponnesians, under the Spartan Mindaros, were defeated as they had never been before. Triumphant, as victorious hero and the saviour of the state, Alkibiades returned to Athens, and for four years more he maintained the Athenian power. But while he was away with the army and the fleet, he could not manage the populace at home. The democracy was declining; misfortune had broken its spirit; the sophists, with their teachings, were confusing the conceptions of right and wrong; the ancient patriotism was dying out, and the spirit of self-sacrifice no longer existed. In this state of things the old antagonists of democracy arose again to complete its overthrow and set up an oligarchy of the Spartan pattern in its place. Once more Alkibiades had to yield, and went a second time into exile.

This sealed the fate of Athens. One victory more her ten generals won at Arginusai, but the Athenians rewarded them with death, because, hindered by a storm, they had not been able to recover the bodies of the slain, nor save the shipwrecked. Athens deserved her doom,

and in the crafty Lysandros, like Alkibiades, at once diplomatist and general, Sparta had provided the man to execute it. In the crushing defeat at Aigospotamos, on the Hellespont, he destroyed her last hope; then marched upon Athens, and the city, invested both by land and sea, surrendered (504 B. C.). The akropolis received a Spartan garrison, the long walls which connected the city with the harbour were destroyed, and the government was placed in the hands of an oligarchy—"the thirty tyrants," as they were called—under the protectorate of Lysandros. Democracy had fallen for a time; the naval supremacy of Athens was gone forever. Though the rule of the tyrants lasted but a few months, though Athens recovered her independence, and generals like Konon, Chabrias, Iphikrates, and Timotheos again led her fleets and armies to victory, yet her generalship was wanting in vigour and unity, and her policy in strength and consistency. Mediocrities ruled in the assembly. What was lost was not to be regained.

Sparta now, after her victorious termination of the Peloponnesian war, stood at the zenith of her power; in all Greece she had no rival. Agesilaos won new victories over the hereditary foes of Greece, the Persians, and, penetrating repeatedly into Asia Minor, exposed the weakness and defencelessness of that colossus. Of this Xenophon had caught a glimpse when, a few years before, at the head of the ten thousand, he made his memorable retreat from the battle-field of Kunaxa. But Sparta's might was on the verge of its decline. In the arrogance of victory she had—it was especially Lysandros' policy—made subjects of her allies; and this evoked a hatred of her rule fiercer than Athens had ever inspired. Everywhere she set up tyrannical oligarchies, gave the cities *harmostai* or commandants, and placed a garrison in every citadel. This policy proved her ruin.

In the midst of peace a passing force of Spartans under Phoibidas, with the help of the oligarchic party, suddenly, and without warning, seized the Kadmeia of Thebes (383 B. C.). Sparta condemned the doer, but approved the deed which placed the most dangerous city of Greece in her hands. The Kadmeia was garrisoned, and the oligarchs ruled in Thebes. But the fugitive leaders of the popular party, Pelopidas at their head, who had taken refuge in Athens, four years later delivered both citadel and city. A desperate war with the enraged and humiliated Spartans was sure to follow, and the Thebans addressed themselves to it with undaunted resolution.

Up to this time the Thebans had, it is true, the reputation of courage and firmness, but, like all Boiotians, they were looked upon as dull and heavy. The Greek culture of the time seemed more deficient there than elsewhere. But now the victory of the popular party, the impending struggle for freedom and even existence, and, above all, the leadership of men of the first order, inspired even these sluggish souls with ardour and enthusiasm. The fiery Pelopidas was joined by Epaminondas, a philosopher of the school of Pythagoras, a quiet, unpretentious man, of whom little had hitherto been heard. Coming to the head of the Thebans, he showed himself suddenly to be a leader of genius, a sagacious innovator in the art of war, a far-sighted statesman, a patron of art—a complete Greek, in every sense of the word. At Leuktra (371 B. C.) he won the first decisive victory over the Spartans; then pushed on into the Peloponnesos and carried the war into Lakonia. Since the days of the Herakleidai, more than five centuries before, the valley of the Eurotas and the city of Sparta had never seen a hostile army. Here now, unlooked-for, stood the dreaded foe on the opposite bank of the stream, and only the vigilance of Agesilaos saved the city. Again, he even forced his way into the streets, but had to retire before the resistance of desperation. He abandoned the city, but planted abiding foes in her neighbourhood. He organized Arkadia, that land of perpetual discord and weakness, and gave it a capital; he liberated Messenia, recalled the descendants of the fugitive families, built

THE PERIOD OF DEMOCRACY.

Messene, and Sparta's ancient foe, with a long arrear of vengeance, rose anew in her might. But the gods saved Sparta in her utmost need. In the great battle at Mantinea in Arkadia the Thebans conquered, but Epaminondas fell by a mortal wound. Pelopidas had already fallen in Thessalia, and Thebes was without a leader. Two beauteous daughters, Epaminondas said, he left to his native city—Leuktra and Mantinea; but he left no son, no successor, to inherit his genius and carry on his bold policy. Thebes sank from its eminence as a city of the first rank.

A general peace followed, the result of fatigue and exhaustion, rather than conviction and good will. Three states now stood side by side in Greece, each ambitious of the hegemony, but neither with the audacity to seize, or the strength to maintain it. Sparta, humbled,



SITE OF THEBES.

To the left the substructure of the Kadmeia.

but brooding revenge, bided her time: half her territory had gone with Messenia, almost past hope of recovery. The ancient constitution of Lykurgos continued in all its forms, but time had wrought great changes in its spirit. The number of Spartan families had fallen from 9000 to 700, and these, grasping and avaricious, formed a hateful oligarchy. Equality had vanished, though at times indeed the old pride and warlike spirit flashed up again. Athens was a democratic state as before, but she had no longer her old free and enterprising spirit. Timid attempts to regain the mastery of the sea either failed or had only a partial success; and now jealous of Sparta, now of Thebes, her policy fluctuated from side to side. Mediocrities like Eubulos, who was long the leading spirit, counselled peace and self-restraint. True, there were men of mark still in Athens, but these were the philosophers, who kept aloof from politics and public affairs, led a life of meditation and instruction, and, like Plato, indulged in visions of ideal republics. Sokrates alone had encouraged his pupils to active participation in public life, but his teachings, in antagonism to the current of public opinion, had cost him his life. Now it was otherwise. Life and theory, politics and philosophy, were distinct provinces. At last Thebes, now without head or leadership, quarrelled with the Boiotian cities and other of her neighbours, was stripped of her power, and her short-lived glory came to an untimely end.

GREECE.

If these three states, by their reciprocal antagonisms, were rendered incapable of taking the lead in Greek affairs, the strength of Hellas was yet by no means exhausted. Her culture was still the first in the world; her art was at its most splendid perfection; men gloried in being Athenians or Greeks. Greek mercenaries—for the laws forbidding foreign service had been relaxed—fought everywhere, and it was the common belief that no victory could be won without Hellenic skill and courage. Nothing was needed but a leader to gather into one the divided forces and direct them to some great end.

While Greece was rending herself to pieces in incessant intestine wars, the unused might of the north had steadily grown. Makedonia, bordered on three sides by the barbarians, separated by the sea from the Greek coast-cities and colonies, had led for centuries an insignificant existence. The Greeks looked upon its inhabitants as half-barbarians; but the royal race, the Temenides, boasted an illustrious descent from an ancient ruling family of Argos. The young prince Philip, who had passed his early years in Thebes under the eyes of Pelopidas and Epaminondas, and from them learned the art of war, was a finished Greek. Raised to the sovereignty in his youth (359 B. C.) he had first to wrest his

the coast-cities to gain for Makedonia an outlet to the sea. Of the latter, some he conquered, while others offered a successful resistance. In Epeiros, whence he had taken his queen, Olympias, he strengthened his influence, and won over Thessalia completely to his service. He now really stood threatening at the gate of Greece, for Thermopylai was open to the march of his phalanx; but he preferred to be invited in, to come as champion and deliverer, and the occasion soon presented itself. For ten years the so-called "Sacred War" had been raging in the heart of Greece. The Phokians, hard pressed by the Thebans and condemned by the Amphiktyonic council, had seized the consecrated treasure in the sanctuary of Delphi, and with the wealth thus obtained, the accu-

realm from internal foes, and then defend it against external enemies, the Thrakians and Illyrians: this accomplished, he was free to meditate great designs, in all probability first conceived in Thebes. His aim was to gain the hegemony over the Hellenic states, and with a united Greece to wage war against Asia and overthrow the Persian empire. It was a task requiring prudence, craft, and shrewdness, rather than strength; to wait patiently for opportunities, or make them by adroit contrivance: he was not strong enough to conquer, and moreover the destruction of Hellas lay neither within his power nor his will.

He first exercised his army and increased his strength in wars against the Illyrians and Thrakians; then attacked



DEMOSTHENES.
Statue in the Vatican.

THE PERIOD OF DEMOCRACY.

mulated gifts of centuries, successfully maintained for years the war against their powerful neighbours. The Boiotians in their need sought help from Philip, who instantly stepped in and soon brought the war to a close. As a reward he was received into the Amphiktyonic league as guardian of the sanctuary of Delphi in the place of the Phokians, and thus the Makedonian became an acknowledged Hellene.

But not all Hellas looked upon him as a deliverer. Philip from the first had seen in Athens his most dangerous opponent; and there were men in Athens who penetrated all his designs and proposed to thwart them. While he was spreading his snares and surrounding all Greece with his toils, they watched with closest vigilance all the intrigues and every movement of this crafty and insidious foe. Athens had been lulled to security by her leaders; but in Demosthenes arose once more a man like Themistokles and Perikles, fiery and energetic, the first orator of his own and of all time, who was strong enough to rouse Athens from her sleep. Of course Philip had a party in Athens, as everywhere else; and his cause was sustained by Aischines, a brilliant orator and experienced politician. But Demosthenes succeeded in opening the



AISCHINES
Statue in Naples.

field of Chaironeia (338 B. C.). Philip, ever mindful of his ultimate purpose, used his victory mildly and adroitly. Instead of driving Athens to the desperate resistance for which it was prepared, he concluded a peace which left it still free.

The peace of Demades was, doubtless, in the main, more favourable in its terms than the Athenians had a right to expect, yet it contained the mortifying clause binding them to recognize Philip's headship over all Greece, and to use their efforts to secure its recognition

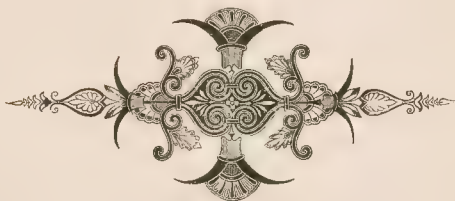
eyes of the people, winning the Athenians to his policy, and rousing them to a patriotic fervour as of old, to stand in the breach for their country, and be ready to meet the foe by land and sea. He was also successful in gaining allies for his cause; and even made an alliance with the hated Thebans. It seemed as if the days of the Persian invasion had returned.

Philip now saw that the moment for action had come. A second sacred war, that of Amphissa, which his own intrigues had fomented, gave him the pretext, and promptly he passed Thermopylai with a veteran and experienced army, threatening Thebes and Athens. These cities hastily collected their forces and encountered him in Boiotia, but met with a decisive defeat on the

GREECE.

by the other Greek states. They had often suffered more in disastrous wars, but had never yet been so keenly wounded in national pride. Yet this clause contained the very essence of Philip's life-long ambition, and was perhaps the only one in which no modification was possible.

Boiotia and Attika being now subdued, Philip turned his attention to the Peloponnesos. All submitted except Sparta, which, too weak to resist, and too proud to humble herself, in sullen silence let him work his pleasure. He next called a conference of all the Greek cities at Corinth, where he made known his designs against Persia, giving them a national character by declaring that his objects were not only to avenge the invasion of Xerxes, but to liberate the Greek cities on the Asian coast. All the cities—except only Sparta, who maintained her attitude of sullen non-recognition of Philip and his schemes—concurred in the design; though they may well have doubted if the liberation of the Ionian cities meant anything more than a change of masters. However, they were in no position to offer objections; and a confederacy of Greek states was formed, of which Philip was the head, to undertake the war against Persia. Philip lost no time in the execution of his long-cherished design; and his advance had already entered Asia when he himself (336 B. C.) fell by the hand of an assassin.





ENTRY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT INTO BABYLON.

4.

THE MAKEDONIAN PERIOD AND THE FALL OF GREEK POLITICAL LIBERTY.



UROPE had seen the vast hosts of Asia, led by Xerxes, pour like a torrent over Greece, but the flood had been rolled back, broken and powerless. With but a handful in comparison, Alexander returned the attack of Asia, and the blow shattered that vast colossus to fragments.

Though it had ceased to produce rulers like Cyrus and Dareios, or even Xerxes, the enormous empire still held together.

But it was diseased at the heart, in its royal line, and sick of its own overgrowth. The campaigns of Agesilaos had long before shown its weakness; and never again did it venture to repeat the attempt of Dareios and Xerxes. It had left Greece undisturbed, until the Greeks, bleeding in their long fraternal war, came as suppliants to the courts of the satraps and the palace of Susa, rivals for the favour and help of the Great King. He now could accomplish what had been impossible for the mighty armies and fleets of his predecessors. He dictated and enforced that shameful peace (387 B. C.) which from the name of the Spartan negotiator is called the peace of Antalkidas. It is true this was due more to the imposing appearance than the real power of Persia; and the peace only

lasted while the Greeks were content with it. From this time only the gold of Persia exercised any influence in Greece.

This design of the Greek king against Persia, or rather against Asia, had a history of its own. Agesilaos, in the midst of his victories and plans, had been called home by the troubles and dangers of his own country. Jason, the Thessalian tyrant of Pherai, then undertook the

task ; but the dagger of an assassin prematurely cut short the career of that able general. King Philip next succeeded, and after years of incessant exertions he now stood at the goal of all his wishes, when he perished by the same fate. But he left in his son Alexander a mightier spirit than his own, and Persia had gained but a brief respite.

When Alexander, but twenty years of age, was suddenly called to reign, he found himself surrounded by foes and perils. In his own house there were rivals for the throne ; in the north the Thracians and Illyrians broke out in revolt ; in the south all Hellas stood threatening, and ready to throw off the Makedonian yoke ; on Asiatic soil stood a Makedonian army whose leader, Attalos, was his foremost antagonist ; Persian gold was everywhere employed to kindle the embers of discord to flame. He succeeded in ridding himself of his antagonists, not without violence, beat the barbarians in a series of bloody battles, and hastening by secret ways over the mountains, before even the rumour of his starting had gone abroad, stood suddenly at the gate of revolted Thebes. His summons to surrender was answered with scorn and defiance ; the city was stormed and razed to the ground. Terrified Greece hastened to offer to the young conqueror, as to his father before him, absolute command of the war against Persia.

It was but a small force,—not more than thirty thousand foot and five thousand his mighty task. He took with him, Plutarch says, the best earnest of success : reverence for the gods ; but he also took uprightness, simplicity, moderation, experience, a cheerful spirit and contempt of death, readiness of speech and love of truth, calmness in deliberation and promptness in execution, love of fame, and a will firm to carry out the right. Before a battle, he ordered all according to a fixed plan ; coolly considered everything, the nature of the ground, the strong and the weak points of the enemy, then, at the head of a chosen body of cavalry, threw himself upon the foe with the spring of a lion, drew his own men after him with an *élan* that nothing could withstand, and decided the battle by personal prowess. Were rivers to be crossed, however wide and deep, or cities and fortresses to be taken, however high the walls or inaccessible the site, his inventive genius found means to pass the torrents, to climb the heights, and to scale the walls. And with this fertility of resource he had an unconquerable power of endurance, both in the battle and on the march. With his soldiers he traversed deserts, patient of hunger and thirst, cheering the way-worn and despondent with encouraging words and setting them an example of fortitude.

At the river Graneikos, not far from the Hellespont, he found the first force awaiting



ALEXANDER THE GREAT.
From a bust in the Louvre.

sand horse,—with which, in the year 334 B. C., Alexander crossed over to Asia. The reinforcements afterwards received from Makedonia and Greece only served to replace the losses by death or other causes. Yet with this army he achieved deeds surpassing the wonders of legend and romance. Like a meteor—splendid, dazzling, and evanescent—he flashed across the world, yet left the marks of his brief life deeply engraven in history. And in truth he possessed, as hardly another has done, all the qualities of a hero, all that were needed for the accomplishment of

THE MAKEDONIAN PERIOD.

him : a band of Persian horse under the satraps of Asia Minor, and one of Greek mercenaries led by his ablest opponent, the Rhodian Memnon. But neither the swift stream, nor the steep bank, neither the resolute valour of the Greeks nor the personal courage of the satraps checked his irresistible advance. The first victory set free the Greek coast-towns, and made him master of Asia Minor. This was the result of his first campaign. When he set out in his second (333 B. C.), the Persian king Dareios Kodomannos had mustered the nations of his empire and placed himself at their head. Alexander's plan was to conquer the provinces of the coast before he should penetrate deeper into Asia, in order to secure his rear from the enemies' fleets, and prevent any attempts on Greece. But hardly had he crossed the mountain-passes at that angle of Syria where the coast, changing its easterly direction, trends southward toward Phrygia, when the vast Persian host appeared in his rear. Alexander at once changed front,



THE BATTLE OF ISSOS
Mosaic from Pompeii.

and at the battle of Issos cut the Persian army completely in two. Dareios, who had in vain tried to withstand the attack, fled from the field, leaving his camp, his family, and an immense booty in the hands of the conqueror.

Alexander did not pursue the beaten foe. He turned southward, took, after an eight months' siege, the great city of Tyre, too confident in her sea-washed walls, and Gaza, on her lofty height, hitherto deemed impregnable. Egypt, long weary of the Persian yoke, welcomed the victor with joy. Even the desert did not stay his march ; and he penetrated to the oasis of Zeus Ammon, which Cambyses had never reached. The army of the Persian invader had perished of heat and thirst in the desert sands ; but Alexander seemed to be favoured by miracle. In their utmost need, a storm of rain, a thing of rarest occurrence in the desert, poured down to cool and refresh his fainting soldiers. Zeus and his priests showed themselves highly favourable to the renowned conqueror ; called him a son of the god, and he not unwillingly accepted the honour ; though whether the pupil of the wise Aristotle, whose philosophy admitted nothing but what was founded on reason, and rejected all mythological legend and tradition, really credited this high paternity, can hardly be a matter of question. But he

GREECE.

knew the value of popular superstitions which he did not share, especially to the founder of a world-empire that embraced so many peoples of so many beliefs. So in Lybia he allowed himself to be hailed as the son of Ammon; in Egypt he could worship the great Sun-god, and in Jerusalem sacrifice to Jehovah. In like manner he protected the religion of the Persians and in India listened with approval to the wisdom of the Gymnosophists and ascetics.

Before Alexander left Egypt, his quick eye had discerned the site on which to found a city that should perpetuate his name to all time. And, as he wished, in a little while Alexandria became the cosmopolitan city, where Greek and Egyptian wisdom, and the culture of Asia and Europe met; where the East and the West made their exchanges. Then—in the second year after the battle of Issos, 331 B. C. he set out from Egypt to conquer the other half of the Persian empire. Dareios, meanwhile, had had time enough to assemble a new army, and summon to his standard the remotest of his tributaries. Beyond the Tigris he awaited the foe. If the broad rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, did not check the advance of the Greeks, he relied upon the advantage which an army outnumbering them ten to one would have in the wide plain. All was in vain: the battle of Gaugamela destroyed his last hope and the last vestige of his power, and Asia lay at the feet of the victor. The ancient Babylon, the queen of the East, received him in triumph: Susa, the royal residence, Persepolis, the holy city, Ekbatana, the capital of the Medes, without a blow fell into his hands with the accumulated treasures of generations. It cost but a hasty ride to overtake Dareios, a fugitive and dying, murdered by his own satraps. The order was given, and the assassin Bessos was seized at the northern frontier and executed.

Alexander remained three years in these farthest provinces of his new empire, promptly quelling all opposition, founding new cities to secure and consolidate his power, and peopling them with Makedonians and Greeks. This done, he set out on new enterprises. All the possessions of the Persian monarch were his, but he was not satisfied: he wished to accomplish what Dareios had attempted in vain. Before him, rich and populous, lay India, the land of marvel and mystery, of tale and fable, never yet trodden by a western conqueror. With an army greater than he had ever before led, he crossed the lofty mountains and descended to the streams that feed the Indus. Here he found warlike nations, strongly fortified towns, and the most stubborn resistance. He crossed the rivers, stormed the towns, himself the first to mount the wall, defeated King Porus and his army mounted on elephants, and conquered all that opposed him. Victorious he stood at the Hyphasis, the last tributary of the Indus, ready to cross the intermediate region to the sacred Ganges. But here his own soldiers checked his advance, unanimously demanding to be led home. In vain he sought to persuade them, now using that fiery eloquence which had so often inflamed them to battle, then shutting himself in his tent and refusing to be seen. He was forced to yield; and a shout of joy greeted the order to return (in the summer of 326 B. C.). But he was resolved that the bold march should not have been in vain; even on his return he proposed new adventures and new exploits. For eight months longer he remained at the upper waters of the Indus, fighting and establishing order, and founding new cities to secure his conquests. With the help of a fleet that he had built during this interval, he descended the Indus to the ocean, and here prayed that no succeeding conqueror might ever do the like. Then he gave the fleet to Nearchos to explore the coast, sail to the Persian Gulf, and thence proceed to Babylon: He himself with the rest of his army marched by land through the desert of Gedrosia, amid inexpressible difficulties, setting them an example of courage and fortitude, until he reached the fertile Karamania, where toil and adventure were at an end. Here he resolved that all hardships should

THE MAKEDONIAN PERIOD.

be forgotten in feasting and revelry. In mythical times Dionysos, the wine-god, coming from India as a conqueror, had followed the same route. In a mad revel Alexander and his retinue impersonated the god and his fantastic progress, with all the frantic crew of Bacchanals and Mainads and wild music, and kept up the orgie for seven days.

When the disorders occasioned by the king's long absence had been regulated, he went to Babylon to make ready for new expeditions. Babylon he had chosen as his capital: she was to be the centre of the world, where the men and the merchandise of the farthest east and the farthest west were to meet, and the products of the north, of Arabia, and of Africa were to be brought together. He constructed here an immense harbour capable of containing a thousand



BACCHANALIAN FEAST OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

ships. From this point he meant to explore the south, to seek a communication with Egypt around the coast of Arabia, and, if possible, to find a passage around Africa into the Mediterranean Sea, as an opening for the conquest of the west. The fleet, under Nearchos, stood ready, when he was seized with sickness, and in a few days Asia had lost her master. After a life of no more than thirty-two years, and a reign of only thirteen, the hero of perhaps the most extraordinary career that the world has ever known, died in June, 323 B. C.

The death of Alexander left the great empire masterless. There was no heir, no successor of the commanding spirit and powerful hand needed to hold it together; and of necessity it fell to pieces. His generals, who first called themselves governors, and afterwards kings, contended fiercely with each other for years with varying fortune; and the subservient provinces of Asia awaited, in abject apathy, the result of the struggle. In the meantime, the remains of the Makedonian royal family perished by various tragical ends, and nearly all the generals died

violent deaths. The whole period of the Diadochoi, as Alexander's successors were called, is a time of strife and confusion. At last, from this wrangling chaos of nearly fifty years, a group of kingdoms arose, of greater or less stability, as that of the Ptolemies in Egypt, and that of the Seleukidai who, established in Syria, ruled the eastern provinces of the former Persian empire. Makedonia fell into the hands of the descendants of Antigonos and Demetrios Poliorketes.

It would seem as if all the great achievements of Alexander had led to nothing, and as if all his work had been only to destroy. But it only seems so. Alexander had higher and vaster aims than merely to destroy an empire, or to place himself on the Persian throne; he aimed at uniting Asia and Europe, and joining all the populations in one people, with one civilization, in which Hellenism should be the ruling element. It was a conception natural to the pupil of Aristotle. Hence the many Graeco-Makedonian cities founded—seventy we count of them—from Alexandria near the Libyan desert to the farthest limit of his Indian march; and hence the many ordinances and arrangements that he introduced after he had become master of Asia. In his adoption of Persian customs, and the respect he paid to foreign cults, he had no other end in view than to conciliate the people and make them favourable to his designs.

And in this respect his achievements were by no means fruitless. Hellenic influences pervaded Asia without interruption, under the Diadochoi and in the independent kingdoms. Even in the regions of the Indus evident traces of Greek art have lately been discovered. On the other side Alexandria became the chief seat of Greek literature as this began to decline in the mother-country. It is true that in the conquered lands Greek culture was tinged with Asiatic influences; but the essential element was Hellenic, and the new civilization was Hellenic and not Asiatic.

In this light we may look on Alexander as the fulfiller and completer of Greek history; he it was that raised Greek civilization from a national to a cosmopolitan position, and this object he kept clearly in view. As Greek culture now spread over the East, which Rome and the West were afterwards to follow, as it began to fulfil its cosmopolitan mission, it lost, not its constructive, but its creative power. It no longer produced new species of poetry, new styles of art; it followed—not without changes in taste, it is true—the old paths; but what it had done made it the common property of the world; and what it had still to do was independent of the land of its origin. Aristotle was the last of the great creative philosophers: his teachings scattered seeds and started impulses in all branches of knowledge. From his time onward the schools of philosophy spread in all directions: philosophy became the fashion, and every one with any pretence to culture must be initiated in it, must be a follower of some one of the schools. But the inward progress, the advance of intellect, was checked for a season.

While in this way the vocation of Greece was being fulfilled, the interest in the history of Greece itself lessens. A nation so brave and so devoted to liberty, so proud and so gifted, does not perish altogether when it loses its independence. It will strive, and again strive, to regain its freedom. And this it did for almost two hundred years after the battle of Chaironeia had decided its fate. These strivings are the death-throes of a great and brilliant people. We watch them with sympathy; we mark their failure with sorrow; but we recognize the inevitable necessity.

Even in Alexander's time, the Spartans, who in their pride had not followed him, attempted a Grecian revolt, but the battle of Aigai (331 B.C.) destroyed their plans. After his death Athens in her turn endeavoured to free herself from Makedonian rule; but she paid for the attempt with a restriction of her democratic freedom, the establishment of a Makedonian garrison in her harbour Munychia, and the death of her great citizen and orator Demosthenes.

THE MAKEDONIAN PERIOD.

But her spirit was not yet broken. Twice again she strove for independence, once against Demetrios Poliorketes, whom she had before hailed as her liberator, then against Antigonos Gonatas, whom she withstood for seven years, until at last (255 B. C.) compelled to succumb.

Equally fruitless were the attempts of Sparta, which even tried to elevate and consolidate herself by restoring the old system of Lykurgos. Here the whole landed property of the Spartans, originally divided into nine thousand equal allotments, had fallen into the hands of a



SANCTUARY OF POSEIDON AT KALAUREIA.
(Death-place of Demosthenes). Hydra.

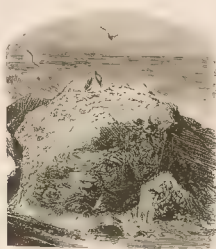
hundred opulent families, while the rest of the population were in the depths of poverty. Here was the point where reform should have begun; a distribution of the land, and an increase of number of the Spartans by admission of the Perioikoi. But the king Agis who made the attempt fell before the opposition of the rich and the ephoroi. More fortunate at first was the young king Kleomenes, the son of his opponent Leonidas. He carried out the reform, disciplined the people in the use of arms, according to the old Spartan usage, enforced temperance, and inspired them with so high a spirit that for three years they victoriously maintained the strife against the then powerful Achaian league and its skilful leader Aratos. But the defeated Achaians, in conjunction with his opponents, called to their aid the Makedonian king Antigonos

GREECE.

Doson; and in the battle of Sellasia (222 B. C.) Kleomenes and his new Sparta were defeated, despite the most heroic resistance. Kleomenes and his companions died by their own hands in captivity in Egypt; and Sparta's power, influence, and liberty perished forever. At least the end was worthy her long and illustrious history.

Since the time when Athens and Sparta began to withdraw from the political arena, two peoples had come to the front—the Aitolians and the cities of Achaia, both united in leagues. It was these who, in the Makedonian period, when Greece was fluctuating between freedom and dependence, contended with varying fortunes for the hegemony, as Athens and Sparta before. The fortunes of politics and war turned on the adhesion to this or the other league, giving opportunities to the Makedonian king to intermeddle, as was done, to Sparta's ruin, in the battle of Sellasia. After this battle the Achaian league once more caught even a gleam of splendour and renown which brightened the last days of Greek liberty. In Philopoimen arose a truly great man, a man of the pattern of Perikles and Epaminondas, who, as military chief of the league was not only a successful and victorious general, but even understood how to elevate the character of the people, and inspire them with self-sacrificing devotion. But this influence was personal alone; and with his death the last ray of Greece's glory was extinguished.

At this very time a new power had appeared upon the stage of the world, against which all opposition was, sooner or later, to be in vain. Greece still preserved a phantom-life, a life full of feuds and intrigues, so long as the Romans permitted it. But when they (168 B. C.) had made an end of the Makedonian kingdom, they did not long delay with Greece. The Achaians, not to fall ingloriously, tried a last decisive struggle, and the result was their overthrow (146 B. C.) and the destruction of Corinth by Mummius. Even the name of Greece vanished from political history, and it became the Roman province of Achaia. But stricken from the roll of states, Greece conquered her conqueror in the realm of spirit. All that Hellas in the time of her freedom had achieved in art, in poetry, in science—in a word, in culture, now made its victorious march across the world beneath the Roman eagles.





GIRLS DANCING.

BOOK II.

LIFE AND MANNERS.

1.

YOUTH AND EDUCATION.



N a fair body a fair soul must dwell. This famous saying of Sokrates had certainly in Greece -though perhaps in Greece only -its full justification ; for all that it implies was to the Greek the ideal of humanity, the ideal of the Hellene.

From the time that Hellenism had become established in its ways, that is, from the time of Solon, whose constitution and regulations for training and education were pervaded with this spirit, the symmetrical culture and development of all spiritual and corporeal faculties and powers, the harmony between body and soul, was the goal of all education, and the aim of all personal endeavour. And beauty—beauty of the body as well as of the soul—stood in the first rank of things to be desired and striven for. The philosophers themselves taught that the Beautiful and the Noble held the first rank ; then followed the Just, and last, the Useful.

GREECE.

To correspond with this dearly-prized harmony, the education was twofold; spiritual and corporeal. The free and noble man should possess neither of these without the other; as the former by itself produced an enervate character, and the latter alone, rough and rude natures. The means to this twofold education, the Greeks called Music and Gymnastics; signifying by music the arts of the Muses, and therefore poetry in chief, but including philosophy also; and by gymnastics a whole system of diverse, well-regulated bodily exercises. These two combined made a beautiful and complete man. They were meant to form the citizen, for the Greek only existed in the state and as a member of it; and they were intended to qualify him for discharging all the duties of a citizen, whether he were called to participate in the government and in the conduct of public affairs, or whether his country needed in the field the services of her disciplined, valorous, and vigorous sons.

In Sparta the child belonged to the state from the moment of its birth, and the state had the right to determine not only its future, but its life or death. If the infant appeared feeble, it was exposed and left to its fate. Even in Athens the father had the same right; and the fear of overpopulation or of the subdivision of estates sometimes gave occasion for its exercise; though at times a friendly destiny interposed to save the little outcast.

Except in such cases as these, in Greece as elsewhere, the birth of a child tending to effeminacy—either rocked in a basket slung by cords, or borne about in the arms, and suckled by the mother, or oftener by a nurse, grew up amid the tenderest care. Baby-songs were sung to it and pretty stories told; and its imagination filled with old wives' tales in which the spectral Lamiai and the goblin Mormo figured as the bugbears that punished naughty children. Then came the fables of Aesop, with their ancient yet ever-young lore, and tales of heroes of the olden time that awakened the youthful enthusiasm. Nor were games and toys wanting. A rattle, hung with jingling bits of metal, was the first trinket to amuse the eye and the ear. In the market was always to be found a variety of dolls, painted or unpainted figures of wax or clay, some even with jointed limbs; a reed answered for a cock-horse, and was ridden even by King Agesilaos with his children; there were hoops to trundle and tops to spin, the latter toy being started with a string and then kept up with the whip.



GREEK MOTHER WITH HER CHILDREN.

was welcomed with family rejoicings. The first festival took place on the third day after the birth: the doors of the house were hung with garlands, and the infant was carried round the domestic hearth as the symbolic installation of a newly-admitted member of the household. On the tenth day the friends and kindred were bidden to another feast, the feast of the naming, to which they brought gifts. The name—for but a single name was given, which was often taken from that of some god—was frequently hereditary in the family, and very commonly was that of the child's grandfather. The infant, well wrapped in swaddling clothes though the Spartans rejected this custom as

The discipline of the house was maintained firmly by the mother and nursery-governess, for the latter had also the right of punishment, and the use of the rod and the slipper was as familiar as in later times. Obedience and good manners were enforced early, and wholesome teachings implanted. "So soon as a child understands what is said to him"—this Plato puts into the mouth of Protagoras—"the nurse, the mother, the pedagogue, and the father vie in their endeavours to make him good, by showing him in all that he does that this is right and that wrong, this pretty and that ugly, so that he may learn what to follow and what to shun. If he obeys willingly, it is well; if not, they try by threats and blows to correct him, as men straighten a warped and crooked sapling."

Up to the sixth or seventh year the boy was left in the care of his mother, brought up with the girls in the seclusion of the house. The girls remained still longer under the mother's care, taught by her alone, or by the better female servants, if they had any capability of teaching. But the boy, on reaching his seventh year, was put to school. In well-to-do families he had a special guardian, the pedagogue, who was usually chosen from among the oldest, most careful and best-behaved slaves. This pedagogue was not a teacher, but he watched over the boy's manners and morals, attended him to and from school, and might correct him with blows, if necessary.



AESOP.

The school was under the supervision of the Areiopagos, and thus education was universal. As far back as Solon's time the state had made regulations for schools, and fixed the time and duration of the teaching; for example, schools were not allowed to be open before sunrise or after sunset, a regulation made in the interest of good morals.

At the hour of sunrise the schools opened. From all sides the boys came trooping, those of the wealthier families with their pedagogues carrying their books and instruments, the others unattended, but all behaving quietly and decently. At least such was the old custom, as Aristophanes has described it in the *Clouds*:

No babbling then was suffered in our schools:
The scholar's test was silence. The whole group
In orderly procession sallied forth,
Right onwards, without straggling, to attend
Their teacher in harmonics; though the snow
Fell on them thick as meal, the hardy brood
Breasted the storm uncloaked.

GREECE.

To nothing was more attention given than to modesty and propriety of behaviour, both in school and out. The boy should go to school, the ordinance said, with head held down, his eyes cast upon the ground, his arms and hands covered by the folds of his garment, making way for elder men whom he chanced to meet, and blushing if spoken to. The market-places where men congregated and where business of all kinds was carried on, he was to avoid as far as possible; and under no circumstances was he to linger there. But sport and youthful plays in the open air were by no means denied him. The Greek boy knew all the games which boys of the present day play at; he played ball in many ways; he had the see-saw, which was especially a girls' play; he had the finger-counting, the mora, that the Italians delight in to this day; he played pitch-and-toss with potsherds or coins, blind-man's buff and hot butter-beans; hide-and-whoop, hull-gull, or guessing the number of beans or nuts in the closed hand, jack-stones, and the fruit-trees were not safe from the peltings of the merry crew; and an epigram represents a walnut-tree complaining:



PEDAGOGUE.
From the group of Niobe.

By the roadside a mark I stand
For every passing schoolboy's hand:
A helpless butt whereon to try
The skill of their rude archery.

The ride on the goat is the subject of another epigram:

Thy shaggy neck, thou ancient goat, the wanton boys have bound,
And thy bearded muzzle bridled with purple cords around;
Now round the temple-court they race and put thee to thy speed;
Worthy such gallant cavaliers is such a noble steed.

It would not seem that the boys had too much time for these merry doings in the open air, for their school-hours and gymnastic exercises took up pretty well the whole day. The

YOUTH AND EDUCATION.

schools could not be said to be comfortably arranged, nor were there all those ingenious contrivances in desks and seats which we moderns fancy necessary for the children's health. The slender provision of stools without backs, on which the boys sat and wrote with their tablets resting on their knees, was the teacher's affair. Indeed the instruction was often given in the open air. But the discipline was strict and enforced by the rod. "When the boy is sent to a master," says Plato in the passage previously referred to, "the latter is enjoined to pay more attention to his morals and behaviour than to his progress in reading or in music." Yet even blunders in reading and in grammar were very apt to leave stripes on the skin; for the Greek school knew nothing of our sentimental humanitarianism in this department.

The instruction began with reading and writing. The teacher wrote the letters and the boy copied them. On arithmetic less stress was laid; but it was taught by the aid of counting-stones, apples, or the like. As soon as the boy was fairly proficient in reading and writing, he took the poets in hand, and thus began that branch of education which was the proper cultivation of the soul. In this the Greeks concerned themselves as little about a multitude



of acquirements, as about the practical utility of the things learned. To study with an eye to the use of learning, or its subsequent application, was considered mechanical and illiberal to the last degree. The only thing had in view was the cultivation of the mind and the body, and the formation of a fair, noble, free, and lofty character. Thus it was that in all their spiritual education, poetry was the central point. So it was even in Solon's time, nor did it change later, though a few new studies, such as drawing or geometry, were introduced. To inculcate wisdom or virtue by teaching seemed to the Greeks an impossibility. Theognis says:

To rear a child is easy; but to teach
Morals and manners is beyond our reach.
To make the foolish wise, the wicked good,
That science never yet was understood.

To the poets, however, they looked to familiarize youth with the love of virtue and the hatred of vice; their songs and poems, it was thought, would have a magic power over youthful minds, and without obvious intention, in mere sport apparently, lead to serious ends. Above all, they trusted in the efficacy of Homer, and his grand picture of the heroic deeds of their own ancestors. They were not blind to the fact that even in the poems of Homer there was much that was not precisely adapted to the mind of youth; but they looked at the soul

GREECE.

that lived in them, at the enthusiasm which they inspired, and the grand and noble spirit in which men and things are so powerfully portrayed. They even believed that the rhythm, the harmony, the melody of these verses had a tempering, softening, and purifying effect on the passions. To Homer were added the hymns to the gods, with their wondrous religious meaning and their primitive devotional legends; the practical shrewd common-sense of Hesiod; the pithy wisdom of the gnomic writers; the inspiring verses of Tyrtaios and the lyrists, which nerved and fired men to patriotism, fortitude, valour, self-sacrifice for their city and country. Strangely enough, nearly all these poets lived at the beginning of Greek history, at least long before its culmination, as if to lead the people on to that result.

In the schools these poems were read continually, copied, learned by heart, and sung. For from the very beginning, poesy had music as her inseparable companion. In the oldest times, poet and musician were one; and only after Plato's day the music began to dissociate itself from the words and become an independent art, thereby sinking rather than rising in estimation. He who practised music as a profession, ranked as a handicraftsman, and was but indifferently esteemed; but as a part of education and culture, song and harp-playing were accomplishments of a free man. In Homer Achilles sang and played: and even in Epaminondas, the disciple of the philosophers, the victorious leader teach it measure and control." For this reason music in the schools was not allowed to have that *virtuoso*, pretentious character which aims at *bravuras* and *tours de force*: simple, noble, dignified melodies alone must accompany the words, and therefore it was that the Dorian mode was in highest esteem; its melodies for the most part being considered to have a manly character, and rousing the soul to action instead of softening it. Yet even in the time of Aristophanes, the *virtuoso* style of music had found its way into the schools; for we find that poet praising the old custom which visited with condign punishment all such innovations:



FEMALE FLUTE-PLAYER
From a vase.

of the state and of the army, it was accounted to his honour that he was not only a good musician but even an accomplished dancer. Music was taught in the school, not as a source of pleasure and entertainment, but because it was believed to possess purifying and elevating qualities; and it was practised on account of the noble influence it was considered to have upon the soul. "Education in music," says Plato, "is essential, because rhythm and harmony penetrate to the depths of the soul, affect it powerfully, and

Let no capricious quav'ring on a note,
No running of divisions high and low,
Break the pure stream of harmony: no Phryns,
Practising wanton warblings out of place.
Woe to his back that so was found offending!

The poems were both recited and sung. The instrument that usually accompanied, that was especially learned in the schools, and afterwards practised for private gratification, was the cithara. The flute also was much in use, but less in the schools, and rather by *dilettanti*, partly because on it one could not accompany his own singing, partly because it required

a dexterity of execution which was foreign to the scope of Greek education; and finally, because the performance distorted the features of the player. This last was the reason why Alkibiades, a good citharist, and ready to acquire everything, refused to learn the flute, though urged by his teacher. The flute, however, and for this purpose the particular variety called Boiotian, was in highest esteem, was the indispensable concomitant of all festivities, both religious and secular, processions, banquets and triumphs; but in these cases they secured the services of professional flautists, male and female.

From the days of Lykurgos music formed also a part of Spartan education; and here its influence on the mind was all the more needed that the other element of "musical" education, the scientific, namely, was far more deficient in Sparta than was the case in Athens and the other Greek states. In Athens, music—using the word in the antique sense,—and gymnastics combined, were designed as an education to produce the most complete and harmonious development of mind and body;

while in Sparta the only aim was to turn out stout defenders of the city; or perhaps it would be more correct to say, brave and tough soldiers. Reading and writing were taught in the schools; but all beyond these that was necessary to be known, the boy learned by intercourse with elder men; and this association was favoured in Sparta from the earliest times; while in Athens the boy was rather excluded from men's society. With this direction of the education to military affairs,



GIRLS WITH A CITHARA.

boy, and all under that of the paidonomos, or overseer of the youth. The state knew no mercy; it held the youth under an iron discipline, and they grew up hard to pitilessness. From the twelfth year on, a short cloak was summer and winter clothing alike; their feet were bare; their beds hard and cold, gathered by the boys themselves from the rushes of the Eurotas without the help of a knife. A simple and spare diet inured them early to abstinence. If pinched with hunger, they were allowed to steal food; indeed this practice was approved, provided the theft were cunningly and successfully accomplished; but if caught, stripes and starvation were the penalty.

To sharpen the wits of the young Spartan, they looked to the continued intercourse and the life in common. Jest and sarcasms quickened the wit and taught prompt repartee; if keen and couched in laconic brevity, the greater the applause. The gymnastic exercises on the other hand, were taught as in a school, and were practised not only by boys and youths, but by men up to their thirtieth year. Then, though they had long been soldiers, they were, so to speak, allowed to quit school. The exercises here were in kind not different from those practised elsewhere in Greece, and which we shall come to learn later; only the more violent contests, those which were especially athletic, were excluded. In the states where a free and more genial ideal

those bodily exercises, the hardening of the frame, and the endurance of pain and hardship, which in Athens were only the means, in Sparta became the end of education.

So while in Athens education, even the gymnastic part, was voluntary, in Sparta the state took the boy, from his seventh year, into its own hand. The young soldiers were brought up in barracks; and mustered, according to their ages, into companies, each under the control of the most forward

GREECE.

of life prevailed, the Spartan discipline was not approved. Sparta, they said, was a perpetual camp; life there was a continual imprisonment to which death brought the only release; nor was it the harsh, rude characters, so the philosophers thought, on which the country could rely in perils, but the free and noble-minded.

In Athens, as said before, the gymnastic exercises were free; that is, they were not under state control. The state only supervised the morals, and built and kept up the public gymnasia for adults. Though the older boys were not excluded from these, yet the proper gymnastic training of the youth was carried on in private schools, which, as has been stated, like the schools of music, were established and maintained by the teachers at their private expense. The appointments were simple enough, for the gymnastics of the Greeks were carried on without the imposing apparatus and ingenious engines which our own gymnasia boast. This



DANCING GIRLS.

school was called a *palaistra*, a name which afterwards received a wider application, and became almost synonymous with gymnasium.

The boys' exercises were carried on simultaneously with those in the school of music, but at different hours, either in the morning or evening. They practised naked; whence the derivation of gymnasium (from *gymnos*, naked) and gymnastics; for in the Greek mind the idea of nakedness was inseparable from these exercises. In the earliest times a light tunic, the *chiton*, was worn by the gymnasts; but with the increased refinement of the people sprang up that passionate admiration of beauty, that delight in fair human forms, that led to the rejection of all clothing in these exercises. Nudity was so natural, so much a matter of course, to the Hellenic mind, that even the maidens, when engaged in similar exercises, laid aside their garments.

Gymnastics, however, were not a regular part of the education of girls. In the greater portion of Greece, especially in Athens and the states which followed Athenian customs, it was the male sex alone that devoted itself to them. The girls, kept in the quiet and seclusion



SPORTS OF GREEK GIRLS.

YOUTH AND EDUCATION.

of the house, might find exercise in dancing, ball-play, or the like; but the gymnasia were closed to them, as were the public schools, and indeed the world. Only the public festivals in which the maidens joined with choirs and dances, brought them out into life and into contact with the youths and the men.

Otherwise was it in Sparta and the other Dorian states. Here the girls grew up more free, and a certain amount of association with the boys and youths was neither forbidden by law, nor rendered impossible by the customs of domestic life. Festivals, dances, and games brought them frequently together. In Sparta too the girls practised gymnastic exercises among themselves, such as running, wrestling and leaping. Lightly clad, as they usually went, with a short tunic reaching barely to the knees, and uncovering the thighs in any rapid move-



GIRL PLAYING AT DICE.

ment, they readily threw off even this in their exercises. But these were not practised, as has been often thought, in common with the boys; nor had they any of the male sex as spectators. They alone, the Dorians, of all the women of Greece, were admitted as spectators of the Olympic games; but though expert in them, they were not allowed to take part in those contests.

With the close of the sixteenth year, the teaching at school was usually ended, and in this period every free Hellene had completed what we may call his curriculum. After this, it is true, the gymnastic exercises continued; and with them the military drill, riding and sword-play, the exercises of youths and full-grown men, were combined. But the mental culture did not always cease, for many who aimed at filling the higher public offices needed knowledge of law and equity, of administrative details, and of eloquence, all which demanded many arts and acquirements. There had also been, from the time of Perikles, when the first Ionian philosophers came over to Athens, an unconquerable thirst for knowledge and culture

GREECE.

among the Greeks, but especially in Athens. And thus the young men of noble, influential and wealthy families, for this instruction was expensive, flocked to Athens to complete the ordinary education in the schools of the rhetoricians, sophists, and philosophers. But of these and of the gymnasia some account will be given in a future chapter.





FEMALE FIGURES FROM TANAGRA.

2.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND DRESS.



Hellas, resplendent in martial fame, unconquered in battle,
Willingly bent her haughty neck to the power of beauty.

REECE in this epigram commemorates *Lais*, the most celebrated beauty of her time. In fact, no people ever paid such homage to beauty as did the Greeks; none like them lay as it were in adoration at its feet. Greece established contests of beauty, and at festivals and processions gave to the fairest the first and most honoured place; she selected for priests the handsomest men, and at times chose statesmen and ambassadors merely for their personal beauty. Indeed, one Greek city, *Segesta* in Sicily, erected a temple and instituted sacrifices in honour of her most beautiful inhabitant, who was not even one of her citizens.

The reason of this—infatuation if we choose to call it so—lay in the fact that the Greeks were preëminently endowed with physical gifts; far surpassing all their neighbours, and all the nations whom they knew. It was their own beauty that inspired that passionate love of the beautiful which pervaded all their culture and all their life. And this beauty

GREECE.

was as much a gift of nature as the result of their own endeavours. Nature had planted them in a fortunate land, in a climate removed from those extremes which give rise to strange and abnormal forms, evenly balanced between heat and cold, moisture and drought, and by this happy mean favouring all regular and normal types. From their childhood they strove to make their bodies not merely strong and enduring, but also beautiful. So Lucian's Solon explains to the Scythian Anacharsis who had gone with him to the gymnasium, and, being a barbarian, could not understand many of the things he saw:—"Thou seest," Solon says, "what kind of bodies are the result of these exercises; neither loaded with flaccid flesh, nor thin and pale like the bodies of women, attenuated to shadows. What would you do with weaklings who in the heat of the sun grow faint with thirst and half-dead with exhaustion before they have even come to blows with the enemy? Our ruddy sun-burned youths are of different stuff.

They have a manly look, are full of spirit, fire and vigour; neither dry and withered, nor heavy and unwieldy, but of a form at once graceful and strong. They have worked and sweated off all superfluous flesh, and only retained what is pure, firm and healthy. This perfection they could not attain without these physical exercises and the regimen that accompanies them."

much the same as if we had it directly from nature; except that the idealising tendency of art passes over details, and elevates certain characteristics to a type which it even carries further than nature allows.

The chief characteristic of the male form was a graceful but vigorous figure, with a broad and well-arched chest, and straight limbs. The gymnastic exercises gave that noble, proud, but easy carriage which is the crowning grace of the free man. These exercises, while they strengthened and developed the sinews and muscles, removed all superfluities, and hindered the overgrowth of the less beautiful parts; they kept the proportion and gracious flow of the lines, whether in the youthful or the adult form. The Greeks inherited from their race a fair skin with warm tones; but a pure white colour in men was not admired, and the habit of exercising naked in the open air and in glowing sunshine covered the whole body, as well as the face, with a slightly bronzed tint.

Upon a slender round neck was poised an expressive head with dark-blonde or brown hair and glowing eyes. The familiar Greek profile with brow and nose in one unbroken vertical line is doubtless partly an idealisation; though it is hard to avoid believing that it existed in nature, so universal is its representation. Wherever Greek art represents Greeks



IDEAL GREEK HEAD.
From the frieze of the Parthenon.

In this description Solon lays down a kind of canon of manly beauty as the Greek conceived it; the man he wished to be, and to a great extent succeeded in being. Here nature and the ideal met; and thus, to a certain extent, we may draw inferences to nature from what has been left us by art. The information that the Greeks have given us of themselves in this way is in the main

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND DRESS.



THE APOLLO BELVEDERE.

of either sex, be it in sculpture, in painting, on vessels of pottery, in the little figures of terracotta, everywhere we find the vertical profile as the type. The cause may lie in a real tendency of the actual profile toward this type; and possibly also in the influence of Asiatic art, where we find this continuous line, though not vertical, but oblique with retreating forehead. Greek art took this up, but changed it from the oblique direction, of which traces are found in the sculptures of Aigina and on the older vases, to the vertical; doubtless because by throwing the brow forward, an expression of higher intellectual power and nobility was obtained, more of godlike majesty. This advanced brow it was which determined the whole form of the ideal Greek head. It produced an unnatural lessening of the hind-head; raised the base of the nose between the eyes, and gave rise to the sheer fall of the brow above, which again set the eyes too deep. As the upper part of the face had become so massive, the under part could not be dwarfed by it; and the result was a swelling mouth with fine curves, and a strong, round,

GREECE.

rather prominent chin. The whole ideal head had thus received noble and expressive form and feature. Doubtless the real Greek head had much of this type; but it was not without slight curves in the line of the nose, and individual conformation of brow, which, as we see from the portrait busts, in more advanced age was often strongly marked.

With such differences as depend on sex, the female form was of the same type. Here we find the same tall, graceful figure and noble carriage, which we not only see in the statues of goddesses, but also in the female figures of terra-cotta recently found at Tanagra, and modelled with great art from the life. They did not, as did the Orientals, admire a voluptuous fulness of form, but a chastened proportion, which did not destroy the gentle flow of soft and graceful lines. They admired in woman the feminine, not the masculine, type, which latter occasionally appeared among the Spartan women as a result of their athletic exercises, if we may trust the mocking Aristophanes, who makes his Lysistrata accost a Spartan lady—

Lys. O you dear Spartan! Welcome, Lampito!
You darling girl, how beautiful you are!
Ruddy of colour, firm of limb, and strong
Enough to choke a bull!

LAM. I think I could:
You see I practise leaping, running, wrestling,
And all sorts of gymnastic exercises.

Lucian sketches another portrait of female beauty in his description of the Smyrnaian Panthea; but it is a description which hardly gives us a distinct conception, being merely an assemblage of parts of the most renowned statues, now unhappily perished, one furnishing the head, another the figure, and another again the hand or the foot. Still, single traits show us what the ancients regarded as beauty in this or the other part of the body. So, for example, there is a common impression, taken from the restored statues, that the hands of Greek women were not beautiful, but thick and clumsy, with broad and stumpy fingers; but this is an error. Lucian expressly speaks of the "beautiful form of the hands, the delicate juncture of the wrist, and the slender and finely tapering fingers." The few specimens remaining of the hands of ancient statues fully accord with this. The Capitoline Venus, for example, the best preserved statue representing developed female beauty, and which has lost only some parts of the fingers, has a hand with fingers round and delicately tapering, of a form which the most modern taste would concede to be perfectly beautiful. Just so the hands of the figures of Tanagra, so far as they have been preserved, are finely executed, of great beauty, rounded but well proportioned above, with round tapering fingers of moderate length; exactly corresponding with the description which Winckelmann gives of the Greek female hand:—"The beauty of a youthful hand," he says, "consists in a very moderate plumpness, with scarcely perceptible indentations, like soft shadings, over the knuckles, where on really plump hands we see dimples: the fingers taper delicately like well-proportioned columns, and in art their knuckles are not indicated."

Other descriptions enable us to complete the portrait of female beauty. We learn that much stress was laid on a well-arched foot; and that Aspasia, for example, was renowned for the beauty of her feet. That we can well understand, as the loose and easy foot-gear of the Greeks allowed the feet a natural growth, uncramped and undistorted; while with us a natural foot and an elegant foot are two very different things; and moreover, this style of dress presented the uncovered foot constantly to view. The face was the especial abode of the Graces; their throne was upon the brows, which were finely drawn with a pure curve, not too

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND DRESS.

much arched; while long, dark lashes shaded the large, liquid, and vivacious eyes. The original Greek type was the dark-blonde, with auburn hair and blue eyes, as the painted figures of Tanagra plainly show; but the scattering of the Hellenic race, their intercourse and connexion with foreigners on all coasts and at all marts, had brought the brunette type into favour, and given a preference for black hair and eyes. With the auburn hair was associated the white skin, tinted either with a warm ivory hue, or with a light roseate flush; the cheeks also had but a delicate rosy tinge; but the mouth, as we are told in the description of a beautiful woman, had the red of a just-opening rose.

If not all Greek women could boast these charms, still all possessed a general style of beauty, and the grace of an easy and natural attitude and carriage. Whether the Greek girl stood, sat, or walked, in her attitude and gesture, in the motions of her hand and head, spoke that noble, calm, graceful nature which is the peculiar charm of classical antiquity, and especially of the female sex, derived from the happy temperament of the external world, and the perfect balance and symmetry of their physical and mental natures. If this quality shows itself in every creation of the Greek mind, so is it especially marked in all



CAPITOLINE VENUS,

their works of art; which, with innumerable examples continually before the artist's eye, could not but have been copied from the life. The figures lately discovered at Tanagra, and already alluded to—female forms full of natural grace—give additional confirmation of this. The Boiotians, to which people the inhabitants of Tanagra belonged, were not in the highest estimation among the Greeks: but an exception was made in favour of their women. "Shun not the Boiotian girl," says a poet, "for she is full of lovely fascination." And to the Theban women above all was conceded the palm of beauty. A contemporary tells us that in point of noble stature and figure, of elegant walk and carriage, they were the most stately and graceful of all Greek women; and even their speech, which in the men was thought harsh and rude, was full of melody and charm.

This freedom, dignity and grace also characterised the Greek style of dress. It is at once natural and beautiful: natural, because it does not depend upon any ingenious and artificial cut, but takes its form from the figure it covers; and beautiful, because it offers to art forms and lines in harmony with art's unchanging laws. And this character it preserved from first to last, though by no means without variety and change of fashion. In the earlier days of Greece the dress was more ample, richer, and more varied in colour than in the period of

GREECE.

her highest glory. The sudden flourishing of the Ionian states, and their intercourse with Asia, had there developed a taste for luxury which displayed itself, among other things, in striking and rich attire. In this splendour of costume, in the use of golden embroidery and stuffs of rich patterns, we may plainly see Asiatic influences; and these effects were afterwards used in art; for example, in the representations of Amazons, of Paris, or any personages of Asiatic race belonging to the Trojan cyclus of legend. From Ionia, with philosophers, poets, and other men of letters came literary culture to Athens, and with them also came sumptuousness of apparel. Athens then, in the time of Solon, had just entered on her period of flowering, and her wealthy citizens made no opposition to the innovations. They wore robes which fell in heavy folds to the feet, wound the hair in a knot over the brow and secured it with a golden pin bearing the figure of a cicada; and when they went abroad, had cushioned chairs borne after them by their slaves.

This was the case in Athens even at the time of the



LADY OF TANAGRA, WITH CHITON, CLOAK AND HAT.

Aristophanes calls them, with one of his grotesque compound epithets—indulged their vanity with long trailing robes, with hair curled and oiled, and fingers loaded with rings to the very nails. Alkibiades in his day was their leader; and the sophists, those teachers or corrupters of youth, rather encouraged than checked these fopperies.

Yet still, though these extravagancies of fashion and vanity accompany to the last the whole history of Greek costume, the general character of the dress remained the same from first to last, and the primitive design never changed. And the same holds good for the Romans as for the Greeks. The chief characteristic of antique classic costume consists in its being—not a dress, like our modern garb, but a covering. The garments of the Greeks were put on, laid on, or folded about, not drawn on, the person: at least, this was the rule. Two

battle of Marathon, and it almost makes us wonder that that battle was ever won. But those who won it were not merely the long-robed cicada-wearers, but the simple, strong, healthy country-folk, who came to the front in a time of anxiety and peril. After the Persian wars rich apparel grew out of fashion with the Greeks; and they came at last to that simple and noble style of dress with which ancient sculpture has made us so familiar. This change was partly due to the great development of plastic art; and at times pride and the taste for showy dress broke out again; and young Athenian nobles,—“ring-loaded-curly-locked coxcombs,” as

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND DRESS.

garments completed the dress of man and of woman; and the general pattern was the same for both sexes.

This dress consisted of an under and an upper garment; the former being the *chiton*, the latter the *himation*. Each consisted of an oblong piece of cloth; the differences lay in the different length or breadth, and in the style of wearing it.

We will first take the men's *chiton*; and our readers by referring to the illustrations will easily understand the description.

Imagine a rectangular piece of cloth, from one to one-and-a-half metres wide and twice as long, and folded in the middle like a sheet of paper. This is put on from the left side, so that one half covers the back and the other the front of the body. Over both shoulders it is fastened; on the left side there is left an opening, through which the left arm is thrust, while all the right side remains open. This is the primitive form of the *chiton*, from which all changes and fashions were but variations. Over the left shoulder it might be sewed together, and over the right fastened with a clasp or brooch. The open right side might be partially closed, so as to give it much the form of a blouse; or the *chiton* might have short sleeves covering the upper part of the arm, or reaching as low as the elbow; or the right side might be slipped off the shoulder and let fall as low as the hip, so that the right arm and half the breast were left naked and free. Worn in this way, the *chiton* was called an *exomis*; and because it was handy for work, the *exomis* was the garb of slaves and handicraftsmen, and as such was worn by Hephaistos or Vulcan, the divine smith. The *chiton*, girded into folds at the waist, usually descended to the knee. Fops, as we have seen, sometimes wore it so long that it trailed on the ground; while, on the other hand, hunters, or soldiers on a march, drew it still higher by means of the girdle.

The *chiton* worn by women was of the same pattern, only much ampler; for here, as a rule, it fell to the feet, and enfolded the whole body. The doubled cloth was laid from the left side over the back and front of the body, fastened over the shoulders, and let fall to the feet, so that, while remaining open on the right side, it still wrapped around the whole person. Often it was made much longer than the wearer's height, and in this case it could be drawn up under the girdle so that the upper part fell over the breast in a kind of loose pouch. Artemis, dressed for the chase, wore a *chiton* which did not reach to the knee; and the Lakonian maidens, always lightly and freely clad, wore it only to the knee, and open at the side, or "split," as it was called.

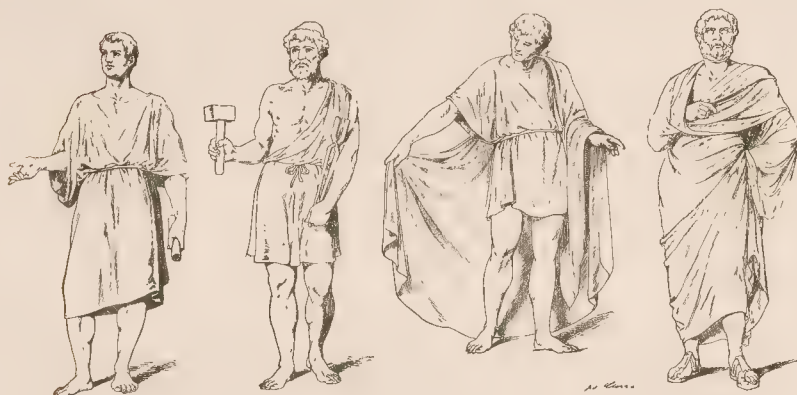
But female art and vanity, even more than male, were far from being satisfied with the primitive simplicity of the *chiton*. They threw the *kolpos* or breast-pouch into a series of folds which surrounded the bosom like a valance, as is seen in many statues of goddesses. Again, they threw over the neck and shoulders, down to the breast, and even below it, a kind of cape called *diploidion*, a piece of stuff, which originally was only the upper part of the *chiton* folded over throughout its whole breadth. But fashion, aided perhaps by local customs, took this in hand, changed it, and made it a separate article of dress, which was laid over the *chiton*. At the arms and shoulders the *chiton* assumed many variations. In its primitive form it was sleeveless and fastened with a brooch; but soon sleeves were added, either square and reaching to the elbows, or slit open and fastened with three brooches down the upper arm. The vases give us numerous examples of these varieties of fashion. When the *chiton* was sewed up on the right side, then, indeed, it could no longer be laid on, but had to be drawn over the head.

This was never the case with the *himation*, the second article of male apparel, which

GREECE.

remained a cloak from first to last. In form and use this may best be compared to an Indian shawl, but not in point of decoration, and far less in respect to the inartistic way in which the latter is worn at present by European ladies. The himation was an oblong piece of cloth, much like the chiton in its original form, and, like it, much longer than wide; but in its other dimensions quite different. A man, in putting this on, threw one end from behind over the left shoulder, drew the whole then over his back and under the right arm, or over it, and threw the other end again over the left shoulder, so that it hung down the back in vertical folds. This is the primitive style, but it admitted of many variations. The wearer might thus envelop himself in the himation from foot to chin; he might cover both arms and hands or leave both free; he might draw it tighter, or let it hang looser over the shoulders.

So also with the himation worn by females, which had the same form, was put on in the



MALE COSTUME.

1. Figure with the chiton. 2. Hephaistos with the exomis. 3. Youth dressed in the chiton, and putting on the himation. 4. The himation worn alone.

same way, and underwent similar variations in its arrangement. But in this last respect the himation was of more consequence to the woman than to the man. By universal and strict custom, no Greek lady could leave the house without putting on the himation, though in the house she wore the chiton alone; so in the arrangement of the latter article she had to be mindful of modesty and decorum, as well as of elegance and the desire to please. And thus, bringing an inventive genius to the aid of long practice, she had raised the art of wearing the himation to the dignity of a fine art. In this she showed her taste, and found opportunity for the display of various little coqueties. When dignified and modest, she folded the himation round her whole person, covering both arms and hands; and even drew it over the face so that only eyes and nose were left visible. This was the style in vogue among the Theban women, and many of the terra-cottas from Tanagra exhibit it. Tall and well-developed figures, the head proudly erect, now in an attitude of studied elegance, now walking with deliberate and majestic step, they were able, though shrouded in these heavy folds, to display not merely forms of matronly dignity, but real figures of beauty. Younger women, conscious of their youthful grace, and not perhaps without a spice of coquetry, drew the fine fabric closer around waist and shoulders,

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND DRESS.

and so brought all their charms into play, while they allowed the forms to be seen through the dress; an art which Greek ladies as well as Greek artists well understood.

But not only age and design, season and weather also had their effect upon the dress. The heat of summer demanded lighter fabrics and a less ample pattern. Then the himation became only a light shawl, worn free and loose from the shoulders or arms, and exposing the form; or, drawn over the face, served the purpose of a veil. Worn in this style it was called *kalyptra*, while in the other it often bore the name of *peplos*; and in its use the Greek ladies displayed great art.

The himation of men had also a variety of forms. In Athens, after the Persian wars, when men, in Kimon's time, began to *Lakonize*, the short Spartan dress came into fashion, and with it a short cloak, in which the philosophers, in haughty renunciation of the vanities



FEMALE DRESS

1 and 2. Various stages in putting on the chiton. 3. The simple chiton. 4. Chiton with diplolition in the act of fastening.

of the world, were wont to wrap their naked bodies. They wore it mostly without the chiton; and indeed it was not uncommon for men to wear the himation alone; but this was never the case with women. Of more importance was a third form of the mantle, of Thessalian origin apparently, and called the *chlamys*; a comparatively small piece of cloth with tags at the corners, which was laid over the left shoulder and fastened over the right with a brooch, thus loosely covering the upper part of the body. This was the especial dress of youths, while boys wore the chiton only. It was also the garb of travellers, and thus of Hermes, the messenger of the gods, and particularly of horsemen, the regular riding-cloak. So we see numerous examples of the *chlamys* in statuary, for instance among the riders on the frieze of the Parthenon.

Such was the national dress of Greece at the most flourishing period of her history, and the flowering-time of her art. Its plastic value was of great value to art, inasmuch that even in the costume all the lines and folds were of importance, and carefully studied by the wearers. And in this respect the nature of the fabric was of great advantage, which fulfilled all the requirements of beauty in the simplicity and elegance of its folds. Woollen cloth, the

GREECE.

softest and most flexible material, was almost exclusively used. Down to the Persian wars the Athenians had worn a long linen chiton, but after that time linen fell into disuse among men; though that it was still worn by women we may learn from the statues, by the light and wavy folds of the undergarment. Cotton, though not unknown, was rarely worn; and only in later times did silk come into use. But woollen fabrics, varying in thickness, fineness and texture, were worn universally and in all seasons; in winter, coarse heavy cloaks, with rough outside, and in summer, garments thin, light and transparent as muslin. Between these extremes lay a great variety, some giving massive folds with heavy shadows, and others a flow of soft and delicate lines.

Not only sculpture but painting found in the Greek dress material for its use, for not only form was there, but colour also. It is true that, theoretically, the native white of the wool was looked upon as the most becoming colour; and doubtless it was much worn, both by men and women; as for example we are told of the Theban women that the robes in which they wrapped their heads and faces were white; and so in the terracottas of Tanagra white is the prevailing colour of the undergarments. But in real life great varieties of hue were indulged in. Even before the Persian wars, bright-coloured garments and even figured tint of their mantles, to which sometimes a border of a different hue, or even of gold, is added.



FIGURES OF WOMEN.
1 Chiton with diplocheia and klypeos. 2 Chiton and himation.

stuffs had been introduced; and if their use in the best days of Greece was less common, the coloured patterns were replaced by embroidery worked in the borders, in the corners, and even over the surface itself. When this was not the case, the himation or its equivalent was often of a single colour, blue, violet, yellow, red or purple. The ladies of Tanagra seem to have had a special fondness for rose-colour; and it is the usual

Colour was even used in the coverings for head and feet, the use of which, in ancient times, may perhaps appear inadequate as compared with our own. At home a man needed no foot-covering at all; and when visiting he took off his shoes at the door. It is recorded of Sokrates himself, that once, when going to a banquet, he put on a handsome pair of shoes, though usually he went, like the poorer class, unshod, even in winter. This, however, was not the rule; as with us, a man with any claim to respectability had to possess at least one decent pair of shoes. He who aimed at being well dressed must have foot-gear conforming; and so neither craftsman's skill nor artistic taste was neglected in their fabrication; and even the simple soles or sandals were cut to fit the foot of the wearer. The forms worn were various, from the plain sandal to high horseman's boots reaching to mid-thigh. Sandals were the most usual every-day wear, but regularly formed shoes were also in frequent use. A lacing of straps, simpler or more complex, and occasionally reaching as high as the calf, fastened the sandal to the foot; and it was sometimes of bright colour or even gilt. The Theban women wore red shoes, laced in such a manner as to show the bare foot. The ladies of Tanagra wore thick red soles, with yellow upper-leathers. Boots and half-boots were worn by travellers and

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND DRESS.



YOUTH WITH CHLAMYS AND HAT.

hunters, and so formed part of the costume of the huntress Artemis. Fops often indulged in bright - coloured laced boots; but on the whole black was the prevailing colour for men.

The wearing of head-gear, either as a matter of comfort or propriety, was not so universal as that of shoes, though probably not altogether so infrequent as is commonly supposed. Indeed the education of the youth, as well as the gymnastic exercises of men, was carried on so largely in the open air and under the burning sun of mid-



YOUTH WITH CHLAMYS AND HAT.

day, that the head, inured to exposure, could dispense with all covering, and young and old usually went bare-headed. Otherwise, however, was it with those who wore the chlamys, such as travellers and horsemen; they wore a hat which seems almost inseparable from the chlamys. So is Hermes constantly depicted, who despite his divinity usually has the hat doffed in courteous salutation, as indeed was the custom of antiquity. This hat, generally of felt, had a round crown, and broader or narrower brim, stiff or limp, and bent sometimes up and sometimes down. Sailors wore a brimless felt cap in the form of half an egg, a costume we see in figures of Charon, the



GIRL OF TANAGRA WEARING THE CHITON.

ferryman, and Odysseus, the seafarer. Among the Greeks the hat was neither a necessity nor a mark of elegance; though with the women, one or the other seems to have been sometimes the case. At least in the female figures from Tanagra, the hat appears so frequently that we may infer its general use in that prosperous city. The Tanagra ladies' hat has quite a peculiar form, being a nearly flat disk with a high peak in the middle; and is so put on as to seem almost floating above the

GREECE.

head which it shades. How it was attached to the head is not known. This hat has various colours; for example, blue with red or gold border; it has rather an elegant effect, and certainly might be worn coquettishly, though, when placed above a muffled head, it has quite a venerable appearance.

The less the importance attached to the hat, the more care and art was bestowed by both men and women upon the hair; and to have this well dressed was a mark of respectability and gentility. Special circumstances, moreover, required special attention to the hair. Thus, the Spartans always combed and dressed their hair before a battle, as if making ready for a festival. Xerxes, when he was told that the Spartans in Thermopylai were engaged in combing their long hair, could not comprehend how men in view of immediate death could be thus occupied with their personal adornment; but in Sparta it was considered that well-dressed hair made the handsome more beautiful and the ugly more terrible.

In general the Greek custom was to wear the hair of moderate youths long. In Athens, on the other hand, when the boys reached the age of *epheboi* (youths) they cut their hair and offered it with ceremonies in the temple of some god; but the men allowed it to grow long again. But long or short, all took great care of the hair, and of the beard also, which nowhere was entirely shaved off: on the contrary, a fine, thick beard was considered a manly ornament. It was never worn, however, in its natural untrimmed growth, which was thought a mark of clownishness or eccentricity. A smoothly-shaven, beardless face came into vogue in the time of Alexander the Great. This was an Oriental fashion; but although there was at first much opposition to it as a mark of effeminacy, it soon became universal in Greece, only philosophers and sophists adhering to the old style.



SHOES, BOOTS AND SANDALS.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND DRESS.



GREEK MALE HEADS.

To have the beard trimmed, or the hair cut or dressed, men went to the barbers' shops, which abounded in all the Greek cities, Athens included. As at the present day, these artists were noted for their loquacity, and knew how to entertain a customer with all the latest gossip. Indeed, their shops were frequented on this account, and became resorts of the idle, the curious, and the talkative, who passed there a considerable part of the day.

Curled or wavy hair was much admired in Greece, as we may see everywhere in the statues; and the Greeks knew how to produce this grace by artificial means. This, as a matter of course, was especially the case with the long and luxuriant tresses



HAIR-CUTTER.
Terra-cotta group from Tanagra.

finite variety, and the ancient writers furnish us with a multitude of names of styles; but it were a task equally impossible to describe the former or to explain the latter. Still, certain well-marked and characteristic styles may be identified.

Although the Greek women were fond of displaying curled or wavy hair, long tresses hanging around the face and over the neck were not in favour. Priestesses wore them; and the

of the women, which were dressed with consummate art. In the style of coiffure there were many varieties; some simple, others more elaborate. Youth and age had different styles; and the style worn at home was different from that worn on a visit or to a public festival. Other differences there were, according to rank or station, the prevailing mode, and individual taste. The innumerable busts and statues exhibit an almost infinite



FEMALE HEADS WITH ANTIQUE COIFFURES.

GREECE.

Bacchantes let the hair fly loose around the head and shoulders. Bacchos is often so represented, as is the so-called head of Ariadne, which some think a Bacchos: otherwise this style was left to courtesans. The rule was rather to leave neck and shoulders free, but to bring the hair down over the brows; for a high forehead in women was not considered a beauty. One of the loveliest heads of antiquity, the so-called Klytie, a head which has all the characteristics of a portrait, has the forehead remarkably low. The hair—and here too we may take the Klytie as the simplest type—is parted in the middle, falls wavily to the temples, and is drawn in very artistic tresses to the back of the head. The arrangement of this mass of hair at the back was the principal source of the varieties in coiffure. A very usual style was to bind the hair into a bunch (the *korymbos*) either at the crown of the head or just above the neck. The former style was favoured by the Theban women, who called it *lampadion*—“little torch”—as much from its bright auburn hue as from the flamelike form. Fillets were also used, single, or double and triple, to secure the hair in various



KLYTIE.
Bust in the British Museum.

arrangements upon the head or at the neck; these were of bright colours or golden, and started either from the back of the head or at the forehead. A wider band, which encircled the brow like a diadem, was called from its form, *sphendone*—“sling.” Nets were also worn, made of coloured silk or gold thread, and of coloured stuff, serving as a bag to hold the mass of hair upon the neck. At the bottom of all

these simpler forms and contrivances lay a certain need of convenience; but the taste of the Greek knew how to draw variety from simplicity, and art from necessity. Countless as are the styles which the statues present, they all seem to us artistic, decorative, and tasteful, yet natural as well, without that elaboration of art and bizarre caprice so characteristic of the Roman ladies in the days of the Empire.

Yet the Greek lady possessed not only the art, but also the arts of the toilette. She well understood how to defend her beauty from the attacks of advancing age, and was provided with the means of making a long resistance, though at last she had to yield to the universal conqueror, Time. Nothing was then left but to abandon the hopeless struggle, and suspend her arms in the temple of the goddess of love, as the epigrams tell us. For example:



MORNING IN THE PERISTYLE OF THE GYNAIKONITIS.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND DRESS.

Thou mad'st me, Kythereia, fair to see,
But stealthy Time has stol'n thy gifts from me ;
Now, since they have departed, I resign
The only proof that once those gifts were mine.

Even Laïs, after so many triumphs, had to yield at last, and dedicated her mirror to the Paphian Aphrodite :

Venus, take my votive glass,
Since I am not what I was :
What from this day I shall be,
Venus, let me never see.

An elegant Greek lady needed for the completion of her toilette no less than fifty different articles, all of which a garrulous writer has enumerated. In the list we find mirrors, jars and phials, unguents and oils, combs and brushes, pencils and colours. For the fair Greek knew well how to remedy the imperfections of nature, to add a wanting grace, or hide a defect. They laid rouge and ceruse upon the cheeks, gave with the pencil a finer curve to the brows, or darkened these and the eyelashes. They wore false hair, and dyed grey locks black, or faded tresses auburn. Of course, all this was fair game for the epigrammatists ; for example :

The golden hair Nikylla wears
Is hers : who would have thought it ?
She swears 'tis hers, and true she swears,
For I know where she bought it.

Another says :

Rouge and ceruse, teeth and hair,
Salves of wax and honey :—
Surely you might buy a new
Face for half the money.

And another :

You give your cheeks a rosy stain,
With washes dye your hair ;
But paint and washes both are vain
To give a youthful air.
An art so fruitless then forsake,
Which, though you much excel in,
You never can contrive to make
Old Hecuba young Helen.

To dye the hair auburn, the Greeks used precisely the same process which we are told was resorted to by the Venetian ladies in the sixteenth century ; they dressed their tresses with a caustic wash, and then exposed them to the rays of the sun. In this point the men were scarcely behind the women, and they too used cosmetics to dye the hair and beard black when they began to turn grey. Dyeing them brown or blonde, though sometimes practised, was considered effeminate and foppish.

The cosmetic part of the Greek lady's toilette consisted chiefly in the use of perfumed oils and pomades. Perfumes, the growth of Asia, and especially of Arabia, were in general favour with the Greeks. Homer's goddesses are surrounded with ambrosial odours ; they know how to employ these to make themselves or favoured mortals attractive. Athene thus sheds a fragrance on the sleeping Penelope, and Juno delicately perfumes herself when she wishes to delude her stern spouse. No public festival, no celebration in a temple, no

GREECE.

banquet was complete without perfumes. The Athenians carried their manufacture to a high perfection; and it is recorded of certain ladies of rank in the Alexandrian time, Queen Berenike among others, that they invented, prepared and brought into fashion a variety of new scents and essences. Aspasia herself wrote a work in two volumes on the cosmetic art, which, to the irreparable loss of posterity, perished in the library of Alexandria.

After the Greek lady had bathed, or rather—for the domestic bath-tub was of rare occurrence, and decrurum did not permit her to visit the public baths—after she had been washed by a maid, who poured water over her from a ewer, her hair and her whole body were rubbed with perfumes. Soap, such as we use, was unknown to the Greeks, though they had various tolerably satisfactory substitutes. Then the lady put on the chiton, and the toilette began. A lady of rank had quite a bevy of dressing-maids; and while she fanned herself with a large fan, one was employed in dressing her hair, another held before her a round, metallic hand-mirror, and a third stood by with her jewel-case, from which she selected rings, ear-rings, bracelets and armlets of gold, chains for her neck and her hair, and brooches to fasten her attire. If she were going abroad, her mantle was laid over her shoulders. She then either bore a fan in the shape of a palm-leaf, and brightly tinted—the ladies of Tanagra seem to have preferred them blue with a red border—or else a maid held over her in the open air a large head and around the breast and wreathed with flowers wine-jug and goblet. Wherever Greeks were, there must be wine, perfumes, and garlands. “Anoint me with odours, crown my temples with roses,” sings Anakreon.

Flowers and wreaths were bought at the market, where flower-girls were always to be found. In Athens their place was the myrtle-market. Leafy garlands were made of myrtle, ivy, foliage of the silver poplar, such as the women of Tanagra wore, and sprays of other plants, and flowers were woven in among these.



FEMALE HEAD FROM THE GLYPOTHEK AT MUNICH.

parasol. If she were bound to a festival, a garland was a necessary part of her equipment.

Flowers and garlands were a quite indispensable adornment of Greek life, even every-day life. At no festival or celebration, whether of joy or mourning, could they be wanting; they adorned the temple, the house, the altars, the statues, and the persons of both young and old. Young people were fond of carrying them about in their hands, as young men of the present day wear them in the button-hole; at banquets they placed garlands on the

I'll twine white violets and the myrtle green,
Narcissus will I twine and lilies sheen;
I'll twine sweet crocus and the hyacinth blue,
And last I'll twine the rose, love's token true;
That all may form a wreath of beauty meet
To deck my Heliodora's tresses sweet.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND DRESS.



TOILET UTENSILS, WITH MIRROR, SCRAPERS AND FANS.

Of all flowers, the favourite was the rose, the flower of flowers, the flower of love. As it is to-day in the East, so all classical antiquity is redolent of the praises and poetry of the rose. Out of innumerable examples, we will take but one—from Anakreon :

Roses, Love's delight, I join
To the rosy god of wine;
Roses crown us while we laugh
And the gift of Bacchus quaff.
Of all flowers the rose is king,
Fairest bloom of all the spring,
Joy of every deity.
Love, when with the Graces he
For the dance himself disposes,
Crowns his golden hair with roses.



BRIDE ADORNED FOR HER NUPTIALS.
Kassandra and Bellerophon. Vase painting.

GREECE.



SELLING FLOWERS.

The faded wreath which had served at the banquet was not unfrequently suspended by a lover at the door of his mistress, at once a mark of his affection and an intimation that youth and beauty, like it, were transitory :

Fair as these flowers, like them thou soon shalt fade.

And so it was with the Greeks. Their beauty, their grace, endured longer than their national freedom. As long as their exercises and games were kept up, even under the Roman emperors, Greece still furnished the perfection of human form, perfect types of beauty. But all passed away in the dissolution of later times, as the free and noble beauty of Greek dress sank to the stiff costume of the Byzantine empire, and even this last remaining grace of antiquity was swept away at the invasion of the barbarians.





FLOWER-MARKET AT ATHENS.



GREEK WOMEN AT HOME.
From a vase.

3.

THE WOMEN.



2. WONDERFULLY noble and perfect female figures, true ideals of fair and lofty womanhood, stand at the very threshold of Greek culture, shining with pure radiance in a dark time of wild confusion and unbridled passions. There is Alkestis who voluntarily offers herself to death, to give life and health to her husband; Iphigeneia, who goes to the sacrifice, with no bitter thought in her heart, no reproachful word on her lips, obedient to the cruel command of her father and the priest. There we see Antigone, who, faithful to filial duty, even in opposition to paternal command, follows her wretched, blind, outcast father into misery and banishment, and buries her brother's corse, though her life is the forfeit. There is Nausikaa, the lovely daughter of a king, joyous, naive, innocent, and yet free and self-possessed as befits a princess, in her charmingly described interview with Ulysses, when that storm-beaten and shipwrecked wayfarer emerges from the thicket and throws himself upon her protection. The whole *Odyssey* is a glorification of Penelope, who for twenty years waits and longs for her absent lord; whose memory strengthens him to bear ever-renewed misfortune; and who, wise and noble, lives for years amid the insolence of the suitors in unassailable dignity, and keeps unstained her faith and her honour. Nowhere in all history or poetry is conjugal love depicted more touchingly, more tenderly, more truly, than is shown in Hector and Andromache, under the impending shadow of a terrible fate, that threatens him with death in battle, her with slavery, and Troy and the whole house of Priam with destruction. Even Helena, who is more the victim of Aphrodite than of her own heart, has

GREECE.

only to appear, and youth and age bow before her irresistible beauty, and are willing for the sake of her, the stranger, to bear all the misery of the ten years' siege. The only words of complaint against her are those which she herself utters.

And how unrestricted are the actions of these women: how free they move among the men! The Trojan princesses hasten through streets, accompanied only by a single female attendant, mingle with the throng of old men, and from the height of the wall watch the progress of the fight. Helena, on her return, is a true queen in the palace of Menelaos, ruling and directing, honoured and obeyed, receiving guests, enlivening the converse of the men, giving to the whole princely house that indescribable charm which emanates from the high-born lady, from commanding beauty. Arete, the queen of the Phaiakians, who is honoured by her husband as never woman was upon earth, walks through the city, and meets on all sides the joyous salutations of the people, who gaze upon her as upon something divine; full of quick and noble intelligence, she appeases the quarrel among the men; she it is, enthroned at the side of Alkinoös, whose knees the suppliant Ulysses embraces, as Nausikaa has taught him, know- whence all art, science, and intelligence radiated it would seem that it must have been the case in all Greece.



DORIAN GIRL.
Victor in the race.

ing that if she were favourable to him, his return to Ithaka was assured.

This dignity of woman and her freedom of action in the heroic age, survives in poetry, and is reflected in the Attic tragedy; but elsewhere it is scarcely found. It can not be denied that in the course of Greek history the women were more and more restricted, and they themselves seem to have grown more insignificant; to have had less influence and taken less interest; their dignity, honour, consideration, diminish; and the woman completely effaces herself before the man. Especially is this true of Athens; and because it is true of Athens, the centre of culture,

The cause of this effacement of woman is not far to seek: it lies in the democratic evolution of Greek civil life, in which the Ionian race took the lead. Individual freedom was to the advantage of the man, but not of the woman. The man, more and more devoted to public life, grew less and less domestic, and passed the day away from his home, in the company of his friends, in the market-place, at the courts of justice, in the gymnasia, whether busied in state affairs, or only talking politics. In the meantime the wife was left at home; this became a habit, and from a habit grew to a fixed custom, while the want of association with the other sex lowered the women intellectually.

But as the progress of democracy was neither universal, nor moved everywhere with equal stride, so the position of the female sex differed in the different states. It was better and more free under the *tyrannis*, or where the aristocratic system prevailed, and privileged

THE WOMEN.

families ruled; for here the women were held in higher estimation, and, to some extent, had a higher culture. The former was the case in the Dorian states, Sparta among the rest; the latter, for a still longer time, in the states of the Aiolian race.

As for Sparta, it was even said mockingly of Lykurgos that he might discipline the men, but the women were too hard for him; and the Athenians used to say that the Spartans stood in awe of the female slipper; but to this the Spartan dames retorted that they were the only women who brought forth men. The Dorian maidens used the same exercises as the youths, if not in company with them; and at the Olympic games, they alone of all the women of Greece were admitted as spectators. At the festival of Hera they even ran races over the Olympic course, and the conqueror received a crown of olive as a prize, and might set up her painted portrait to commemorate her victory. The association of the Dorian maidens and youths was freer, and the occasions of it less rare of occurrence. In all the innumerable public and religious festivals, the participation of the maidens and matrons was not only indispensable, but a leading feature of the ceremonies. All these festivals were celebrated with dancing, music, and choral songs; and the women learned their parts from the chorus-leader, who was poet, composer, and ballet-master in one. They were thus well drilled



SAPPHO.
From the bronze of Herculaneum.

in these noble arts which were considered of more importance than letters.

As soon as the Spartan woman was married, she assumed the rule of the whole household, and the control of the swarm of Helots. In this way she became accustomed to exercise a certain authority, to which her husband, when at home, willingly yielded. Indeed her influence not seldom extended even to matters of state, of which history gives us many examples.

The Spartan woman had, doubtless, a claim to such recognition, for no patriotism was so often and so severely tried as hers; no mother so often saw the strong sons who were her pride march forth to the combat; and none so well knew how to repress her grief when they did not return.

Eight sons Demaineta to battle sent,
And buried all beneath one monument;
No tear she shed for sorrow, but thus spake—
"Sparta, I bore these children for thy sake."

The Spartan mother preferred to see her son dead rather than recreant; rather returning *upon* his shield than *without* it; and it is even related that a mother meeting her son fleeing, disarmed, from the combat, laid him dead at her feet.

Such heroic women as these, the Aiolian race cannot show; in it women are seen in a more amiable and more feminine light. The Aiolian women, especially those of the island Lesbos, were counted among the fairest of Greece; it was they too, beyond all others, who had creative genius in music and poetry, which in itself is evidence that they enjoyed a freer position in life. To the Aiolian race we owe the creation of Greek lyric poetry; it had its

GREECE.

female singers, as well as male ; as Korinna of Tanagra, the lamented Erinna who died young, leaving but a single poem, which long after was prized as a masterpiece ; but above all Sappho, the tenth Muse.

Sappho, the fairest woman of her time, and most renowned of poetesses of any age, was born at Eressos in Lesbos, of a noble family, with which she shared the vicissitudes of political strife, banishment and recall ; a state of things that prevailed everywhere during the combinations between aristocracy and democracy in the sixteenth century B. C. Although married, and the mother of a dearly loved son, she lived free and unfettered, serving the Muses, and surrounded with admirers, whom she well knew how to keep at a distance. In Mitylene, the crown of Lesbian cities, she gathered about her a circle of young and beautiful maidens, over



GREEK LADY, SEATED.

whose friendship and affection she kept a jealous watch. She lived with them, was their teacher in music and poetry, for in the latter art also the artistic form of the ode was a matter of careful study ; she taught them the interwoven dance, and led it with them at the festivals. Thus runs one of the many epigrams that commemorate her fame :

Come to the fair-eyed Hera's grove, ye Lesbian maidens,
Sing, and about the shrine circle with delicate feet :
Sappho, with lyre of gold, will lead in the dance and the chorus ;
Dulcet her song as the sweet music of Kalliope.

A life such as Sappho, and others like her, led, which on one side came into contact with political affairs, and on another was devoted to art, friendship, and love ; a life passed in public view — such a life for a woman would have been impossible in the cities and states of the Ionian race. While Sappho contended and wrote for fame and immortality, the Ionian-Attic woman lived and died nameless and unknown. The house alone was her kingdom ; and even in the house, of which one half was allotted to the men and the other to the women, only

THE WOMEN.

the latter half was her province. She had hardly any association with any men beside her husband; and so remained destitute of society—which indeed did not exist as we now understand it—and devoid of all instruction. The maiden grew up in seclusion, taught by her mother and her nurse alone; and what she learned from these was little enough. In fact mere acquirements, literary knowledge, were not highly prized in Greece; and even the boys had but a slender share of these at school. Greater value was set on dance, song, and music; and these the Attic maiden was taught that she might take her part in the public festivals. The parents arranged between themselves the marriages of their children; and it was not an uncommon case that the young people saw each other for the first time at the betrothal. What beside the Greek girl learned, were household arts, such as spinning and weaving, and especially embroidery, for which the Athenian women were celebrated. Housekeeping, in its proper sense, she only learned after marriage.

With her marriage it seems that this strict seclusion ceased; but in all essential points the position of the woman remains unchanged. It is true she was the distinguished ladies were attended by a whole bevy of handmaids, though the judges of manners censured this as ostentation, and praised the wife of Phokion, who was never attended in public by more than a single maid.

If, in addition to all this, we take our ideas from the expressions of writers and poets, as for instance the woman-hating Euripides, who makes his Iphigenia say that one man is worth more than ten thousand women, or the malicious scoffs of the comic poets against the whole sex—we must suppose that the Greek woman, and the Athenian woman above all, was held in extreme contempt, and looked upon as little better than a slave. But it was not really so bad as this. In many lands and at all times there have been peoples among whom the



DANCING GIRL.
Marble statue in the Vatican.

tress of the house; but she remained in constant tutelage—was a perpetual minor. She could not appear in person as a suitor before a court of justice. She took her meals with her husband when they were *lêto-à-lêto*; but when guests were present, she did not appear. She went seldom abroad; though this restriction was relaxed in the later days of the republic; nor could she go abroad without the knowledge of her husband. When she left the house, to pay a visit, to tend a sick friend, or to a religious festival, she was always accompanied by a maid-servant. This attendance was given as a restriction; but it might be looked upon as an honour, a mark of respectability, distinguishing a lady of position from a female of the lower class.

So wealthy and distin-

GREECE.

women stood more or less in the position of minors, where a strict custom kept them secluded ; and even in our own day the old phrase, *mulier taceat in ecclesia*, is, to a certain extent, the expression of a fact. And yet all this has never hindered women from obtaining their befitting positions in the family and in society. Woman possesses, in her beauty and her grace, an irresistible weapon, which the beauty-loving Greek could least resist. Anakreon may be our witness to this :

Nature gives all creatures arms
To defend from hostile harms ;
Gives, the lion to defend,
Fearful jaws that wide extend :
Horns, the bull, resistless force,
Solid hoofs, the vigorous horse ;
Nimble feet the timid hare,
Wings for flight the birds of air ;
Fins to swim, the watery kind ;
Man, the bold undaunted mind.
Nature, lavishing her store,
What for woman had she more ?
Helpless woman ! To be fair :
Beauty falls to woman's share.
Armed with this she need not fear
Sword or flame or dart or spear :
Beauty surer aid affords,
Stronger far than flames or swords.

We have attempted to portray the free Greek woman of the better classes not as a slave, nor in the humble condition of a mere domestic drudge, but in all respects lady-like. The innumerable representations of women in sculpture and painting must be universally false if their originals were not ladies in the modern sense of the word ; elegant women full of grace in every line and movement, and also full of nobility and matronly dignity. That highest means of spiritual culture which the men possessed, namely poetry, was not denied her ; for there were copies of the poets in the house, and she might visit the theatres, except when the indecorousness of the piece, as was often the case with the comedies, prevented a modest woman from attending.

With these weapons, in addition to her power of beauty, the Greek woman broke through the barriers of law and prejudice, and compelled an unconditional recognition of her rights in that province which was properly her own. And she succeeded so far that she was treated by the stronger sex, if not with chivalry, at least with great consideration and tenderness. No man uttered a word in her presence offensive to her modesty or dignity ; no stranger presumed to enter a house where the mistress was alone or even the master absent. Even the woman of Homeric times owed to herself her free and lofty position ; law and custom gave her no rights other than those which the Greek woman of later times possessed. Penelope, when she rebuked the suitors, was checked by her own son ; and though surprised, she held her peace.

If the men took public life with its occupations and duties for their province, in return they left to the women the control of household affairs, reserving to themselves at most only the right of supervision. The wife ruled the whole body of domestics, allotted the tasks, had charge of the provisions, and was occupied in directing and supervising from early morning until night. Not seldom her authority extended to her husband ; for as there were male domestic tyrants, so there were also female,—scolding Xanthippes, who spared neither gods

THE WOMEN.



DOMESTIC SCENE.
Vase-painting.

nor mortals, neither the all-powerful Zeus nor the wise Sokrates. Sometimes it was the heavy dower that gave the wife this superiority; at others it was a better education, or more distinguished family, that brought the husband to this inferior position, and made him the slave to all her caprices. In the *Clouds* of Aristophanes the unlucky Strepsiades bewails his fate, loaded with debts because he married a high-flying fantastic city-dame, "redolent of saffron and pomade, fashion and extravagance."

But on the other side, neither was a unity of feeling, a complete harmony of soul, altogether excluded. Although as a rule it was the parents who arranged and concluded the marriage, yet it was by no means seldom that love linked the tie, and for love's sake difficulties were overcome and sacrifices made, as in the case of Kallias, who, wishing to marry the sister of Kimon, had to pay the debts of his father Miltiades. And as the husband usually received his bride young, shy, and undeveloped, so it lay for the most part in his power, and was his task, to form her to his wishes. Thus we have, in the *Oikonomikos* of Xenophon a sketch of a young married pair of this kind, evidently drawn from the life. Sokrates, who in his usual style pretends ignorance, makes a young and wealthy Athenian of rank tell him how he has brought his housekeeping to such a model of perfection. "What do you do," he asks, "when you are at home?" "Nothing whatever," answers the other; "that is my wife's business." "And had she this experience when you received her from her parents?" "By no means, since she was only fifteen when I married her. She could do nothing but make a garment, and set the maids their tasks. That was not much, you will admit; but she had one virtue—modesty." Ischomachos, for such is the husband's name, now goes on further to tell how he trained his young wife to her duties. First, he says, they sacrificed to the gods and prayed that he might be able well to instruct his wife, and that she might well retain his instructions, and profit by them to their common advantage. When she had grown a little more familiar with him, and would speak without restraint, he asked her if she understood why their parents had made the match. We thought, he says, that in these things the choice should be carefully considered, since the fortune of a household and of a family depend upon it. If the gods send us children, I trust that you will co-operate with me in giving them the best education in our power, since they will be companions for us, and a source of happiness that we must carefully watch over. They will be the hope of our old age, and the heirs of our possessions. And these we must both do our best to increase, since they are the common property of us both. And in so doing, each of us will have a share. The duties of a family are two-fold, external and internal: the former belong to the husband, the latter to the wife. Nature has given the one courage and strength to bear cold and heat, and the hardships of travel and of warfare;

GREECE.

to the other weakness, that she may lead a more peaceful life, and timidity, that she may be doubly watchful. This is the reason that the wife has the charge of the interior concerns of the household. Both have the same care; but the activities are different, and each completes the other. Is it not, he asks her, better and more natural that a wife should take care of the house than that she should gad about the streets? And what is more unnatural than for a man to neglect his out-door duties, and shut himself up in the house like a woman? "You must remain at home to send out the servants when anything is to be attended to out of the house; to oversee their domestic duties, to receive the stores and provisions and give them out as needed, to take the wool after the shearing, and have it spun and woven; when the grain is brought in, to see that it is kept dry and clean for use; and—though this may not be so pleasant a duty—to take care of the servants when sick."

"On the contrary," answers the young wife, "I shall find a pleasure in that duty, for it will increase their gratitude and devotion to me." "Then," the husband continues, "when you have done and ordered all this, you will enjoy in your heart the purest and highest pleasure;

cluded from Greek marriages; and many a wife might in her declining years have spoken as did she of whom this epigram was written:



EROS OF PRAXITELES.
Statue in the Vatican.

and when in the performance of your duties you are more perfect than I, I shall own the authority of your virtues; your highest wishes will be commands to me, and advancing years will only increase my love and tenderness."

Thus speaks the young Athenian. It proves, at least, that love and happiness were not ex-

Kallisto to Pallas dedicates
Her hair, her zone to virgin Artemis,
Her crown to Aphrodite, having wed
The man she loved the best, and passed a youth
Happy and pure, and borne a beauteous son.

The quality for which the Greek, and especially the Athenian women were most renowned was conjugal fidelity. The law in this respect was extremely severe upon the female sex and invested the men with rights to which no corresponding duties were attached. But law and public opinion gave the man entire liberty in this respect, and he used it freely, though marriage brought with it comparative restraint. This license of the men, this weakness of their moral judgment, is the shaded side of the Greek love of beauty. They drew into publicity a class of females that elsewhere veil themselves in obscurity, and gave them a position in society and in culture which can not be passed without notice. The *hetairai*, "female friends," votareesses of "the golden Aphrodite," form a feature of Greek life. They gave to the men female society with that charm which the matrons, secluded as they were from the world, could rarely give. They brought the fascinations of graceful and highly cultivated

THE WOMEN.

minds, and the attractions of brilliant conversation, and to these they not seldom added sincere attachment and devotion. But those *hetairai* whose names have been preserved in history are but a few which appear rising above the obscure crowd. The chief seats of their influence were those where woman enjoyed least freedom, in the Ionian cities, and especially in Athens, next in Corinth, the centre of commerce, with its motley adventurous crowd, where Kypris had fixed her abode, and where she was honoured and served by women of this class, the *hierodulai*, as her priestesses. Sparta, on the other hand, was ignorant of them. This *hetaire* class arose in the Ionian states of Asia Minor in the time of their sudden prosperity and wealth, when the democracy consolidated its power. In this democracy they found the sphere of their activity, though they by no means limited themselves to it. They came into Attika, one after another, with the many-coloured apparel and the philosophers, and found in Athens, as it rose more and more into importance, a favourable field for the exercise of their talents. It was not without reason that their coming coincided with that of the philosophers; there existed between these two classes of persons a certain connexion which long continued. Many of these *hetairai*, desirous of improvement in knowledge and education, were it but to enhance and to refine their fascinations, sought the society of *hetairai* who attained fame and influence was the Milesian Thargelia, of whom, as of others of her class, it was said that she was in the service of the King of Persia, and sought to produce an interest in his favour in Greece. She then became the favourite of Antiochos, a Thesalian prince, and retained, even after his death, the power she had thus acquired. But still more celebrated—we may say more honoured—was the name of Aspasia, who, through her connexion with Perikles, the first and noblest statesman of Greece, has shed almost a glory upon the whole class.



ASPASIA.
Bust in the Vatican.

philosophers and frequented their schools. And in return they received visits from these sages, and even enjoyed their intimate friendship. This state of things hardly resulted in a gain for philosophy, even though Sokrates averred that he had learned eloquence of Aspasia, and ascribed to a certain Diotima all the wondrous revelations concerning the nature of love, which he sets forth in the *Symposium* of Plato. The history of philosophy neither names nor knows one of these women.

One of the first Ionian She was a Milesian by birth, and came to Athens unknown. But suddenly she comes conspicuously into view as the favourite and companion of the great man, who ruled the destinies of his native city. For her sake he repudiated his wife, and took Aspasia to his home. For her sake he bore the sarcasms of the comic poets; he humbled himself before the people, and when she was accused of impiety, pleaded for her to the judges with prayers and tears, until he had extorted an acquittal from their compassion. There can be no doubt that she was not only fair, but of remarkable mental gifts; and assuredly she exercised, as contemporaries tell us, considerable influence in political affairs. Not only Sokrates, but Perikles also is reported to have learned from her the art of public speaking, and that mighty stream of words with which he, "flashing and thundering like Olympian Zeus, shook all Hellas;" from which cause she was looked upon as the Hera of this Zeus. It was said that she assisted him in the preparation

of his orations, and especially the famous panegyric on the soldiers who fell in the Samian war is ascribed to her. Sokrates himself Plato represents as declaring that he heard her delivering this, partly impromptu, and partly from previous preparation. After the death of Perikles, Aspasia married a nonentity named Lysikles, whom she managed to raise to some prominence, but afterwards she sank finally into the obscurity from which she had risen.

None of her successors ever attained to such distinction, nor to the splendour that surrounded the name of Aspasia. True one and another became noted for brilliant wit, and were able to charm men of intelligence, like Diogenes "the dog," the despiser of all worldly vanities and pleasures, who was entangled in the snares of Lais. But the devotion was all paid to their beauty, and their influence seldom extended beyond the hearts and purses of their adorers. The Corinthian Lais, the fairest woman of her time, saw all Greece at her feet; and even after her death, the memory or the report of her beauty inspired many a poem. Then there was Phryne, a Boiotian from Thespiæ, the city of Eros, whose beauty wrought wonders and won her wealth. Once, like Aspasia, she fell under an accusation of impiety, and was on the point of being condemned to death. Prayers and appeals were alike in vain, when Hyperides, her lover and defender, tore away her garment and displayed, unveiled, her ravishing beauty. The lovers; and at her entreaty he gave her his master piece, Eros with the Satyr, which she dedicated in one of the temples of her native city.



APHRODITE.
Variant of the Venus of Knidos in the
Glyptothek at Munich.

judges were not proof against such loveliness, and pronounced her acquittal. But otherwise she was chary of the exhibition of her charms, and only permitted the perfection of her form to be inferred beneath the garment. Once only she showed herself unveiled to the people; and then religion afforded her the pretext. It was at Eleusis, at the feast of Poseidon, when, in sight of an immense concourse on the beach, she loosened her hair, disrobed herself, and descended into the water like the sea-born Venus. Praxiteles took her, in this attitude, as the model of the Aphrodite of Knidos; and Apelles painted her as the goddess born of the foam and arising from the sea. Praxiteles indeed was one of the most favoured of her lovers.

With Phryne avarice was the ruling passion. She bartered her favours for large sums, so that even the wealthy Demosthenes, when he heard the amount, turned away from her door, saying that he did not buy repentance at so dear a price. But others were less prudent; and the golden rain descended on her in such profusion that she proposed to rebuild at her own cost the walls of Thebes, which Alexander had destroyed, provided she might place upon them the inscription, "Destroyed by Alexander: rebuilt by Phryne the hetaire." The story is at least a proof how high her wealth was estimated. The estimate of her beauty may be had from the fact that at Thespiæ her statue by Praxiteles stood by the side of the Aphrodite of the same master; and at Delphi another statue of her, in gold, was placed between the votive gifts of the Spartan king Archidamos and those of Philip of Makedon.

Many another hetaire attained to wealth and celebrity; the names of many such are



PHRYNE BEFORE THE JUDGES.

THE WOMEN.

preserved; but none ever reached the renown of Phryne, Lais, and Aspasia. It seems as though the position of the virtuous matrons improved with the political decline of the state; their liberty was greater, and their consideration increased, as if domestic life was taking a stronger hold upon the people. Long after the loss of her political liberty, Athens could boast ladies of learning and distinction. Self-sacrificing, patriotic women again appear, as Greece sinks to its fall. Thus, like evening stars, we see devoted Spartan women, such as the mother of the unfortunate Agis, and his young widow, who became the wife of his successor Kleomenes, and after the disastrous attempt of her first husband, inspired the second to an effort to restore the old Sparta of Lykurgos to its pristine might and glory; and when this attempt also failed, followed her husband to wretchedness and death: so even in the luxurious and dissolute Corinth, when it was taken and destroyed by Mummius, there were still women who sought refuge from slavery in a self-inflicted death.

Here I, Rhodope, lie, and beside me my mother, Boiska.

Not from a stealthy disease, not from the spear of the foe:

But we two, when the hostile flames swept over Korinthos,

Both undaunted of heart, knew how to baffle our fate.

Pierced by her hand I fell: a cord released her from thraldom—

Never chose noble soul slavery rather than death.





ENTRANCE OF GREEK HOUSE.

4.

HOUSE, FURNITURE, AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY.



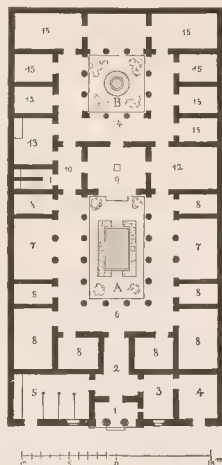
EXAMPLES of Roman houses of almost every description have been fortunately preserved to our time; but not a single Greek dwelling that we can certainly recognize as such; so to form an idea of one we must have recourse to the descriptions of writers, and their accounts of events which occurred in them. It is, however, a vain undertaking to lay down a ground-plan which shall agree with everything that we are told. Indeed this discrepancy lies in the very nature of the subject. In the course of time customs changed; the city required one arrangement, the country another; sloping ground demanded a different plan from level; wealth and poverty, the size of the family, the station in life, or the fancy of the proprietor, all gave rise to varieties in the design.

Still, the Greek house was constructed on one general plan, which we may recognize in Homer, which is preserved in the houses of Pompeii, and has

essentially survived in the present domestic architecture of the East. It is not difficult to recognize this fundamental design everywhere, when we keep in mind its essential characteristics, and have a moderately clear conception of the early history of human habitations.

We start then with the hut, the mere sheltering shed, such as necessity provides everywhere, only differing in the materials the region affords. Remains of such buildings of the most remote antiquity are to be found in Greece in what are called the Cyclopean constructions; but they have but little interest for the student of civilization. We care more for the dwelling, which is stamped with a certain character, a well-marked and national physiognomy, dependent on the civilization, and which has grown or changed in correspondence with it.

We say the fundamental design is not hard to recognize, when we keep in view the history of the dwelling. Throughout all this history two radically different designs, and two only, appear: the northern and the southern house. The northern house, in its earliest and typical form, is a single great room, the hall, lighted from without and covered with a steep roof. The southern house is a building inclosing an open rectangular court, from which it receives light into its various apartments, while it is shut off from the world without. These two designs, the house of the hall and the house of the court, mark the fundamental distinction of the plan, and these, in all the



GROUND PLAN OF A GREEK HOUSE
A. Aula with surrounding apartments (7, 8, 9, 12) composing the andronitis. B. Peristyle with surrounding apartments (13) composing the gynakoniis. 1. Vestibule. 2. Passage to the aula. 3, 4. Baths. 5. Stables. 6. Prostat with statue of Hestia. 10. Passage to gynakoniis.

needs of a princely abode, but also from the advance in civilization; but neither cause altered the fundamental plan, which was only doubled or tripled. In the palace of Odysseus three of these houses were arranged in a row, all three connected, but the second and third so united as to make one continuous structure, while the first was partially detached. The first court is enclosed by the guest-chambers; the second with its apartments is the abode of the men, and in it the suitors hold their carousals; the third belongs to the family, to the lady of the house and all that is under her immediate control or protection.

Thus we see that even in this early time the division of the house into the men's half and the women's half had already been introduced. But according to Homer's description more than this had been done. The second and third courts had been converted, by a circuit of columns, into a hall which might be used as a continuous abode, though we are not informed how this hall was covered in. This must have been in such a manner as to admit sufficient

infinite constructive variations of dwelling and palace, remain to the present day.

The Greek house is the southern house — the house of the court; and this character it had in the earliest times of which any definite accounts are preserved. The palaces, if we may call them so, of Odysseus, Menelaos, Alkinoos, have all the house of the court as their type, merely enlarged and with additions. Of course the real palaces of those chiefs could not have been what Homer describes them; but he drew his descriptions from the dwellings of princes in his own time, and we can not doubt that they were truthfully drawn.

The enlargement grew not only from the

GREECE.

light to the surrounding apartments. More than this, the third division had an upper storey, which, naturally, did not extend over the court or hall, but only over the apartments. This contained the accommodations for the servants, especially the females.

All these arrangements, with the exception of the guest-house, which the city residence could dispense with, are to be found in the Greek dwelling of historic times; only it has received a more specific development. The fundamental plan remains in two features: first in the construction around a quadrangular court, and next in the division into the men's half and the women's half, or, as they termed them, the *andronitis* and *gynaikonitis*. The more the state developed in the democratic direction, and the men devoted themselves more and more to public and out-door life, so much the more the women retired into seclusion and insignificance, and this separation was architecturally expressed in the arrangement of the dwelling. Of course when poverty built itself a hut, there was a retrogression to the primitive design of a single court, either with an upper storey that took the place of the *gynaikonitis*, or without it, leaving men and women to arrange their accommodation as best they could. The alienation of the men from their homes had this further result, that the historical Greek dwelling, as compared with that of Homeric times, seems neglected both architecturally and artistically, a phenomenon which otherwise, in the extraordinary development of all arts, it would be hard to explain. And we notice again that just in proportion as public life declines, and the family and the wife rise in importance, so art penetrates into the interior and makes it fairer, richer, and more decorated. And especially, as the Pompeian houses show us, did this change affect the *gynaikonitis*, an evidence that woman had emerged from her seclusion again into social life.

The small area of the unwall'd cities was the cause that the houses were built wall to wall, and with narrow frontage. Their enlargement therefore had to be either upwards or in their depth. The latter was the rule, because otherwise the *gynaikonitis* must have lost its court. Nor can there be any doubt that the rule was for the *gynaikonitis* to be in the rear of the *andronitis*; and if ever it was placed beside it, this was only an exceptional arrangement due to local circumstances.

The usual dwelling of a family in good circumstances was built, therefore, deep, with a narrow frontage. A light coat of plaster, slightly tinted, covered the unpretentious exterior. If there were an upper storey there were a few small windows looking on the street, of which, however, a good view could be had from the flat roof.* Two columns with a small vestibule sometimes adorned the entrance, but this was by no means the rule. The house door was generally in the middle. This door, guarded by a porter, one of the domestic slaves, was opened at a call or knock; and if the visitor was a stranger, he had his name announced to the master of the house. Between the house-door and the street was a passage (the *thyroreion*) on either side of which were rooms for various domestic purposes, lodgings for the slaves, or guest-chambers, much as was the case in the palace of Odysseus; but they were also occasionally occupied as shops.

Beyond this passage lay the court of the *andronitis*, the *aula*. This might have a circuit of columns, and be converted into a hall, by the addition of a roof, of course with wide openings to admit light to the surrounding apartments, which were arranged according to

* Dikaiopolis, in the *Acharnians*, when about to lead the procession in the rural Dionysia, says to his wife:

"Wife, you must be spectator. go within.
And from the house-top you can see us pass."—*Tr.*

HOUSE, FURNITURE, AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

the tastes or wants of the proprietor. Here in the front building the master of the house attended to his affairs, with his stewards or slaves: here he rested, read, wrote, or studied; and here he entertained his guests at table. From the *aula* a passage (the *mesaulos*) with a door that could be opened or shut, led to the court or hall of the *gynaikonitis*. Here again the arrangements of the apartments varied; while the rooms in the rear of the *gynaikonitis* were used for the lodging and occupations of the female slaves, for spinning, weaving and washing. From these a door led into the garden, if there was a garden; or into the street, if the house extended the whole depth of the square.

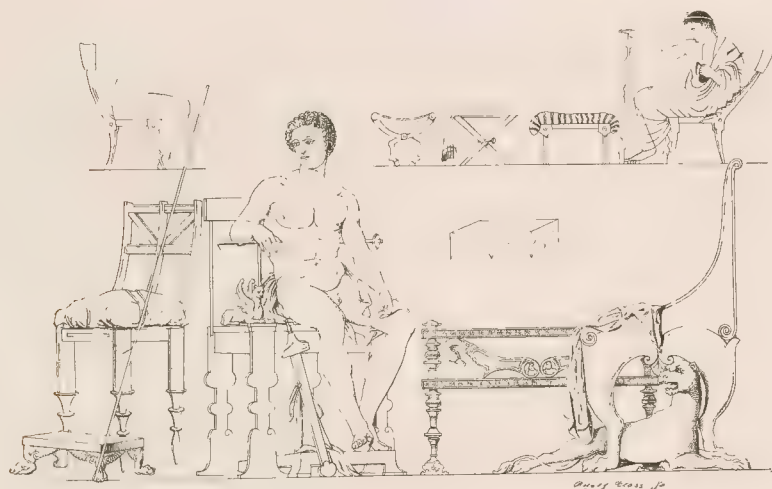


AULA WITH PROSTAS AND STATUE OF HESTIA IN THE BACKGROUND.

Certain motives of convenience or comfort regulated the arrangement and selection of the various apartments. For the dining-room it was desirable to choose one that should be as cool in summer and as warm in winter as possible. For his study the master selected a well-lighted room, and so did the mistress for her work-room. Grain required a dry place, and wine and provisions one that should be cool and well ventilated. All these dispositions depended upon the orientation of the house, or other local conditions. One apartment, however, had its fixed place in the plan—that called the *prostas* or *pastas*. This was the central point of the whole establishment; the place for sacrifices and religious ceremonies; for here stood the family altar, a feature of the highest importance in Greek domestic life. Here stood the statue of Hestia, the goddess of the hearth, of the house, and of the whole family; here all offerings and celebrations took place when important family events occurred. Around this

GREECE.

altar the new-born infant was carried as a sign of its reception into the family; here departures and returns were celebrated, and name-giving and marriage, birth and death, solemnized. Here a new slave was formally admitted as an inmate of the family, which assembled to receive him at the altar of Hestia. Hither ran the slave in fear of punishment, and hither came the fugitive seeking the protection of the house, as Odysseus, entering the palace of Alkinoos, took his seat in the ashes of the hearth, which at that time was also the domestic altar. So, with this importance and significance, the place of the *prostas* was predetermined. In a house with a single court it was situated in the rear of this court, into which it opened. In the double house it was placed at the end of the *gynaikonitis*, probably between it and the *andronitis*, so



CHAIRS AND SEATS.

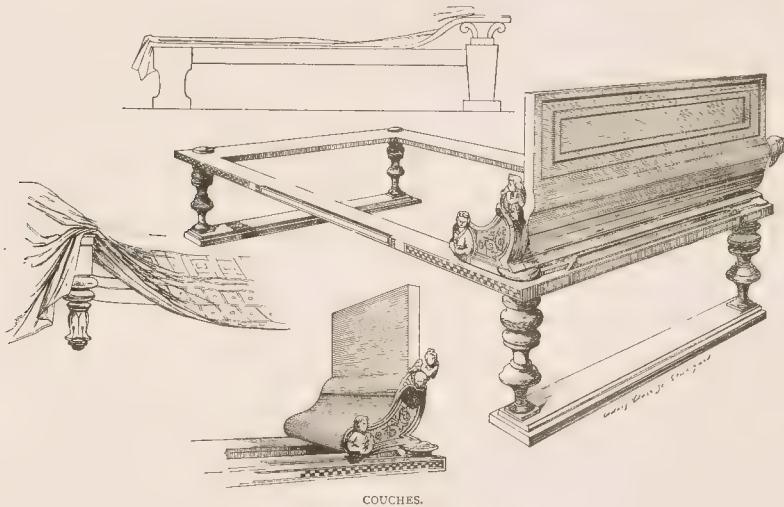
that in this situation as well as in its whole significance it corresponded to the *tablinum* of the Roman house.

The domestic altar, as it was held a place of special importance, was honoured with especial decoration, though otherwise, as has been mentioned, the house was rather slighted by the arts in the historic period. In Homer's time, however, this was not the case; at least in princely dwellings, if we may rely upon the descriptions in the *Odyssey*. Palaces such as those of Menelaos and Alkinoos gleamed with decorations in polished metal which ran along the cornice, and extended over the walls. Even if we pass by as fabulous the silver door turning on a brazen threshold in the palace of Alkinoos, it is still certain that if not in Homeric, at least in heroic times, the walls were covered with plates of beaten metal, which were doubtless polished and had a brilliant effect. An evidence of this may be seen in the most ancient ruins, for example in the Treasury of Atreus at Mykenai, where we still find in their places the bronze nails which fastened the plates.

This decoration disappeared in that dark period which lies between the heroic and the historic periods. The latter for a long time substituted nothing in its place; absence of orna-

HOUSE, FURNITURE, AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

ment being in fact rather the rule than the exception. Nor was it better with the floor, which was composed of plain stone flags. Alkibiades is said to have been the first who employed a painter to decorate his house; an embellishment previously restricted to temples and public buildings, and thenceforth it grew more and more the fashion, especially in the time after Alexander the Great, when public life began to decline, even painters of the highest reputation, such as Zeuxis, not refusing to employ their pencils in the decoration of houses. To this wall-painting a corresponding art was joined in the mosaic designs for the floors; and thus was developed that peculiar, richly-imaginative, and graceful system of decoration, which in inexhaustible variety, though dating only from Roman times, has been revealed in the buried cities



Herculaneum and Pompeii. As nothing similar has been preserved in Greece, this decorative art will be treated at length in the second part of this work.

Of the furniture and utensils of the house we can speak with more certainty. Although the furniture could scarcely compare with that of modern times in completeness and variety, still art was by no means wanting in its design and construction. Chairs, couches, tables were often richly adorned, not seldom cast of bronze, or inlaid with ivory and silver, the feet gracefully formed, of bold design and elegant proportions, ending, usually, in lions' paws. Figures of men and of animals also frequently occur in these decorations.

Peculiarly rich and ornamental were the chairs and couches, the former more used by the women and the latter by the men, who loved to read, to write, and to take their meals in a reclining position, resting the arm on a cushion. The chairs stood on four legs, either straight, curved, or crossed; and some had backs, so shaped as to fit comfortably to the person; on the seats were laid coverings or cushions; and even arm-chairs were used. We can not deny that the antique chair, with its spreading feet and curved back, was a really elegant piece of furni-

ture, though not so well adapted to our uses and comfort, nor exactly conforming to modern taste. But designed for the Greek lady, it harmonized perfectly with her costume, and especially with the noble carriage, the grace and dignity with which she sat; an attitude in which, perhaps, she appeared even to greater advantage than when walking or standing.

The couch, which in day time was chiefly used by the men, had as a bedstead a kind of bench, either without a back, or with a low head-board; a foot-board was not so common. The covers which were laid over it, which were afterwards superseded by cushions filled with feathers, were of various kinds, rough or smooth, heavy or light, sometimes woven in coloured designs, or embroidered with gold and silver, and trimmed with fringes and tassels; and a similar drapery often surrounded the lower part of the couch and concealed the feet. Of these coverings, which were often brought from the East, there was always an ample supply. They were used on the couches for reclining, as well as for the bed, which only differed from the former in having a coverlid, and sheets of linen.

These coverings, and the smaller utensils and appliances of the table and toilette—of which the latter were far the most numerous and varied—were not kept in presses or cupboards, but in chests, of the same form as the caskets for cosmetics and jewelry, which we often see represented in the pictures of domestic life. Their form is simple: a mere quadrangular box with a lid; but art soon took these in hand and adorned them richly with decorations in metal, which was worked very artistically and with great skill. So with the tables, in which, indeed, considerable luxury was displayed. They were made in various forms, round, oval, rectangular, but were small, and, as still in the East, so low that they only reached as high as the couches on which the guests reclined.

An elegant, but rather imperfect class of utensils were those which served for lighting. The ancient arrangements for lighting the houses we should consider decidedly unsatisfactory; and a man accustomed to conveniences naturally wonders why the Greeks did not rather employ their remarkable genius in improving this most necessary, and certainly very imperfect part of their household apparatus, instead of elaborating new systems of philosophy. But centuries went by, and still no advance had been made. It is still possible that, not following the modern custom of turning night into day, they did not feel the inadequacy as much as we should. At all events, for the house they had only an oil-lamp with wicks, and for the street simply torches. Wax-lights did not come into use until Roman times. The light of the lamp could only be increased by multiplying the wicks, or placing several lamps together; and the elegant and artistic forms that they gave their lamps were, at best, but a poor indemnification for their imperfect light. But in this application of art they were unexcelled. The innumerable lamps that are preserved in our museums, even the simplest terra-cotta affairs, have in their flat, bowl-like form, with handle and nozzle, a striking and pleasing effect; while many are perfect models of the art of giving graceful and elegant form to the simplest and most ordinary utensils. Many are adorned with charming ornaments and small figures in relief. By far the greater number were of terra-cotta; others of bronze; and the richest of more precious metals. The general form is always the same, though when there were several wicks, there was necessarily some modification of the pattern. Most were standing lamps, though some were arranged for hanging. For the former they had candelabra with slender shafts of various heights, and a disk above on which the lamp was set; for the latter they had stands with projecting arms from which it was hung by a chain. In poorer houses these candelabra were of wood; in the richer, of bronze or costlier metal.

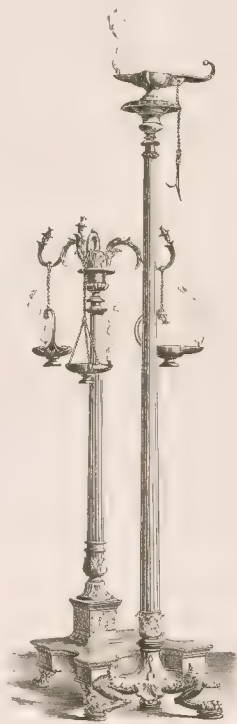
Writers and readers used these candelabra, which stood by the couch, and illuminated

the book—that is to say the manuscript, for both then were one. Their earliest material for writing on was a sheet of prepared papyrus brought from Egypt; afterwards superseded by parchment. The book had the form of a roll, which the reader unrolled as he proceeded. This roll was kept, either singly or with others, in a cylindrical box, and these boxes took the place of the cases of our libraries. In the houses of persons of education and refinement books were never wanting; and when, after the time of Alexander, public libraries arose—the Ptolemies in Alexandria taking the lead, and then the Attali in Pergamon—the private citizen procured for himself at least copies of his favourite poets. The writings of the philosophers and others were also diligently copied by scribes, and sold in the book-market. Many, as for instance the poet Euripides, were distinguished as lovers and collectors of books; and Aristotle possessed a collection which might fairly be called a library.

As there were book-lovers, so there were also diletanti and bric-a-brac hunters, who collected works of art and rarities, either for their artistic value, their singularity, their antiquity, or their association with some historical or personal event. One lavished pains and money to obtain possession of the lyre of Orpheus; another had a passion for minute curiosities, such as the little carvings of ivory, of one of which we are told that it represented a chariot with four horses, and could be covered by the wings of a fly; or a grain of sesame on which were written two verses of Homer. Another made a collection of wax figures, such as fruits, &c., represented with the most exact fidelity to nature—all mere artistic trifles, for which neither the artists nor the virtuosi were wanting.

So we may see that, taking these tastes and fancies into account, there was furniture enough, even leaving out the kitchen and the store-rooms, to prevent the Greek home from having an empty appearance. And what with cleaning and taking care of its numerous rooms and chambers, it gave work enough to do, and required a considerable number of active, careful hands. As a rule, there was never any want of these in a Greek household. This work was done by the slaves, who were an essential part of all good housekeeping, and no family, unless the very poorest, was entirely without them.

Slaves were a necessary part of Greek life. So far from excluding slavery, Greek liberty is not even conceivable without it; for without it it would have been impossible for the free men to devote themselves so entirely to public life and fulfil their duties as soldiers and citizens. The rightfulness of slavery was never for an instant questioned by the Greeks: even philosophers like Aristotle and Plato never had an idea of universal human freedom. On that subject they had but one opinion, and it was held by all—no Hellene should be a slave. Greeks therefore, when taken prisoners in war, if their lives were spared, were invariably ran-



LAMP AND CANDELABRA.

GREECE.

somed. The slaves held by the Greeks were always of barbarian race, either taken in battle, or bought in the slave-market. A single exception must be made in the case of the Lakædæmonian helots, who, as an indigenous race, early subjugated, and to a certain extent forming part of the Lakonian state, differ from the rest; and indeed, being attached to the soil and not to the person, had a worse position than the ordinary Greek slave.

In general the treatment of slaves among the Greeks was milder than elsewhere, Rome and Italy included. They could contract marriage; they could, while working for the master, set up a sort of housekeeping of their own; they were cared for in sickness and old age; and as bailiffs and overseers they might acquire their master's confidence, and associate with him



GREEK WOMEN AT THEIR HOUSEHOLD OCCUPATIONS.

on almost a footing of intimacy. Once irrevocably destined to a servile lot, their interests became identified with those of the master; and in this way the relation was regarded by both.

The number of slaves in Attika was far greater than that of free persons. To 21,000 adult male citizens, giving the free population a total of about 150,000, there were 400,000 slaves. Of course not all these were domestic servants. Many worked upon the farms, in the factories, in the mines; and many were employed as artisans for the profit of their owner. A well-ordered and comfortable domestic establishment needed, as a rule, the services of from ten to twenty slaves, male and female. There might be more, though never to such an excess as in Rome in later times; but less than this number indicated a humble style of housekeeping.

The slaves had to do all the work that the house required, even such things as properly come under the hands of mechanics. The cleaning and keeping in order was their duty; they had to grind the corn and bake the bread; to take charge of the cellar and the kitchen, serve

HOUSE, FURNITURE, AND DOMESTIC ECONOMY.

and wait at table; they went out to make purchases and do errands; they had to wait personally on the master and mistress, the latter of whom had certain of the female slaves especially devoted to the services of her toilette. The female slaves also spun, wove, made garments, in which work the mistress and her daughters sat among them to oversee and direct. In a well-regulated family, all these things were duly ordered. As every piece of furniture had its place, and every utensil and appliance, whether for the table, the bed, or the person, had its proper repository, so to every one was allotted his work, or the objects of his care. In larger households one of the trustiest male or female slaves was selected as steward or housekeeper to relieve the employers of a part of their care: and such an assistant was indispensable to the mistress, on whom the charge of the whole household devolved. Sometimes it was not in household matters alone that the fair Greek dame needed a confidante. Even she, at times, allowed her heart to stray into forbidden paths, and sunk in reveries let her wool and spindle fall. Then it was the favourite and trusted slave-girl to whom she confided her secret, and who became the stealthy messenger of love.

But the presence of a housekeeper did not exempt the mistress from the duty of personal supervision of the house. She it was who had to direct and order all, to keep an eye upon all; and to maintain a kind, it might be, but a strict and just rule. Had she so fulfilled her duties, her grateful spouse might then inscribe upon her tomb such an epitaph as has been preserved in the following verses of Antipatros of Sidon:—

Wonder not that on Myro's tomb a scourge is engraven,
With it an owl, a bow, a goose, and a swift-running dog:
The bow betokens the wise, firm sway she bore o'er the household;
The dog, that her children she watched and guarded with vigilant care.
Not by the scourge is meant that her rule was harsh and oppressive,
But it was strict and just, dealing due measure to all.
The goose marks her guard of the house: the wakeful owl, that unwearied,
All her active life in the service of Pallas she passed.
Virtues like these made happy the days of Biton her husband,
Who to her honour has placed here this memorial stone.





CAROUSAL.

5.

HOSPITALITY AND ENTERTAINMENTS.



— "Who loves thee, him invite thou to thy board :

AR off be he who hates !"

A pleasing saying of Hesiod's; but in the earlier times Greek hospitality went far beyond this. Every stranger or traveller who knocked at the door had a claim upon it; he stood under the protection of the highest god, Zeus Xenios, guardian of the guest. And the hospitality was a matter of moment to the wanderer whom an evil destiny—for so it was accounted—compelled to leave his home; for the inhospitable road had no inn nor shelter for the wayfarer, and perils not a few.

Every guest must therefore be received and entertained before the question was asked, "Whence and whither?" "Thou speakest folly," said Menelaos to Eteoneus when he asked if he should direct the strangers—Telemachos and Nestor's son—to another dwelling. He who came to a meal at once took his place at the board; he who came as a fugitive or suppliant first seated himself at the domestic altar or hearth. Not until the guest had eaten and drunk was he expected to tell to what land and family he belonged. A visit, even a casual

HOSPITALITY AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

one, might result in a permanent hospitable bond—the guest-friendship, which had its reciprocal rights and duties, and descended from the parents to the children. Those bound by such ties avoided each other in battle, if engaged on opposite sides, or even exchanged armour, like Diomedes and Glaukos, though the armour of one was worth a hundred oxen, and that of the other but a tenth the price.

In Homeric times the guest of distinction was usually first offered the refreshment of a bath. At Pylos, in Nestor's palace, it is the king's daughter herself who prepares the bath for Telemachos, and afterwards anoints and perfumes him; but as the venerable monarch had at that time "seen three generations of men," it is probable that the princess was of so mature an age as to make this attention hardly an indiscretion. In the palace of Menelaos it is the female slaves who render this service to the son of Ulysses.



RECEIVING A GUEST-FRIEND.
Vase-painting.

The bath was followed by a repast. In the times just referred to, the guests sat upon chairs, and maids went round with ewers and basins, pouring water over their hands. Male servants placed before each a small table, brought meat in dishes and bread in baskets, mixed the wine in the wine-jugs and distributed it in beakers. Then came in the minstrel, the singer, who played and sang of the deeds of heroes, and the talk went round. The mistress of the house came, not to share the meal, but to take part in the conversation. Thus Helena appears: one of her maids places for her the ornamented seat, another spreads a soft woollen covering over it, a third brings the spindle and a silver basket with wool of bright hues; and she takes her seat and begins to work and to talk. When the repast, which was prolonged over the wine, was at an end, all retired to rest, for the principal meal took place in the evening. A couch was spread in the hall for the guest; for at that time the guest-chamber was unknown. When the guest departed, he bore with him friendly wishes, and a hospitable gift to remind him of his host.

New times brought new manners. Early in the historical period travelling became more common. The relations of the states to each other, the festivals celebrated in common

GREECE.

by all Greeks, the extension of commerce, politics, ambition which reached beyond the boundaries of the city and the state, intercourse with the circuit of colonies beyond the sea, filled with travel all the ways by land and water, and the old patriarchal hospitality was at an end. In the cities arose inns and taverns in which the traveller might find tolerable entertainment for his money, and there was no further necessity for him to rely on private hospitality.

But if guests were lodged less frequently, and less consequence attached to their arrival, their entertainment was not neglected. The Greek was a social creature who hated to dine alone; and therefore either invited guests, or dined abroad. But in this also many changes had come in: the manners were less simple, and the fare, if not richer, at least more varied.

The fare of the Homeric heroes is simple enough. The sacrificial victim, whether bullock, swine, or ram, furnished the meat, which the guests stuck on spits and broiled at the fire. Bread, baked in the house, was handed round, and this constituted the repast. The Greeks were never *gourmets* and epicures, like the coarser Romans; though in time they learned other pleasures of the table. Game and poultry now graced the board; to the meat they added fish, and to the milk, cheese. Salted fish, which was brought in great quantities, formed a staple article of food for the poorer classes and slaves in addition to their humble barley-porridge. Those in easier circumstances had fresh salt-water fish on their tables, and loved the fat Boiotian eels from the marshy Kopaic lake. Even tortoises, crabs, and oysters were eaten as delicacies. Vegetables of various kinds, some made into salads, and especially leguminous fruits like peas, beans, and lentils, were added; and for the dessert they had cakes and pastry of different sorts, for which Attika, with the aromatic honey of Hymettos, was particularly famed.

The growth and manufacture of wine was hardly raised by the Greeks to the dignity of an art or a science; but they had their favourite vintages, such as those of Lesbos and Chios, and on the mainland, the growths of Sikyon and Phlios. Some wines were dark red, others bright yellow, or whitish, but all strong and fiery. The Greeks seldom drank these unmixed; even at carousals the drinkers as a rule added three parts of water to two of wine.

The mistress of the house saw to the preparation of the meal; at least she gave the necessary directions and supervised the cookery. If, on especial occasions, the culinary resources of the house were insufficient, there were professional artists who could be hired for the occasion, and who stood in the markets waiting for any demand for their services.

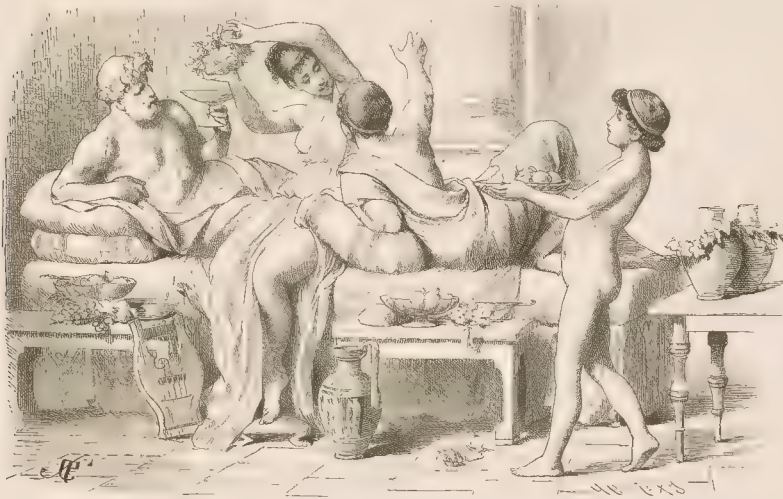
Though the housewife had had all the cares of the preparation, she was not entitled to a place at the board. Even her right of presence there, which we find in Homeric times, had been rescinded. An exception was made in the case of the hetairai, who, when they had good establishments and plenty of slaves, gave entertainments to friends and guests; but the wife only dined with her husband; or rather, when he had no guests, he dined with her in the *gynaikonitis*. But this was an exceptional case. Fond of conviviality, he rarely let an occasion slip; the birth of a child, the arrival or departure of a friend, a victory in the theatre or arena, a feast-day or a day otherwise memorable, any noteworthy occurrence, or the mere whim of the moment, was sufficient cause for a banquet. Agathon the poet, when he won the prize with his tragedy, celebrated the event by a feast to those who had assisted in its representation, and on the following evening by an entertainment to his friends.

The invitations were easily given, for men met daily in the *gymnasia*, in the market, or other places of public resort. An old friend went uninvited, sure of a welcome; and he might even bring a guest with him. Among other unbidden guests came a new character, the parasite and buffoon, who followed wit and jocosity as a profession, and who was

HOSPITALITY AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

expected to pay for his unasked and not always welcome participation, with jokes, better or worse.

Before the invited guest went to the entertainment, he made his toilette—that is, he bathed, perfumed himself, and donned his best clothes and shoes. The board was usually spread in the andronitis, and the guest, after exchanging salutations with his entertainers, took the place assigned to him, the most honourable being that at the side of the host. Servants removed the shoes of the guests, and purified their feet from the dust of the streets. Then—for the Homeric fashion of sitting at table had been abandoned—they reclined upon couches with bright coverings and hangings, resting the left arm upon a cushion, so as to leave the right free. As a rule, there were two guests to each couch. Before each the slaves placed a



GREEKS AT TABLE.

table spread with viands, and brought meat, fish, and sauces in dishes, and bread, cakes, and fruit in baskets. The guest had no plate or knife to himself, and as for forks, they were unknown; but a spoon was placed at his disposal. The meat was served cut into small pieces, which he took with the fingers of his right hand and dipped into the sauces. After the meal, as before it, the servants carried around water to wash the hands; and during the meal the fingers were wiped, if necessary, on bread or a piece of dough placed for the purpose.

The general arrangement of the meal was simpler or more splendid among different peoples; very simple at the common repasts of the Spartans; more splendid, in an increasing progression, with the Athenians, Corinthians, Boiotians; most luxurious of all in Sicily. The repast usually consisted of two courses, of which the first was fish and meat, with the vegetables and other *hors-d'œuvre*, and the second the dessert of pastry, cakes, and fruit. While the meal proper continued, there was no drinking; only at its beginning a drink-offering of unmingled wine was offered to the gods, and one "to the good spirit" at its close. Nor was

GREECE.

it the custom to converse while eating. Conversation began with the second part of the entertainment, the *symposion* or carousal, for which the tables were removed, and the floor cleansed of all fragments. Other tables were then brought by the servants, covered with salted cakes, cheese, and other viands provocative of thirst. The great mixing-bowls were brought in, also pitchers of water cooled in snow, and jugs of unmixed wine, ladle-shaped dippers, beakers, and cups deep or shallow, of graceful forms, and the queer horn-shaped vessels called *rhyta*. The



WINE JUGS OR OINOCHOI.



MIXING BOWLS, OR KALYKTERAI.

youngest and handsomest slaves were chosen to wait on the guests, who crowned their heads and garlanded their breasts with myrtle and violets, ivy and roses, not merely as a sign of festivity, but to cool their glowing temples, and, as they thought, to counteract the heady qualities of the wine. Music was then brought in, song and dance delighted ear and eye, and Bacchos, attended by the Muses and the Graces, ruled the hour, often until all were sunk in intoxication.

The Greek loved wine, and honoured it in art and song. He loved it not merely as a means of sensual enjoyment: he used it as the care-dispeller, the bringer of joy and mirth.

HOSPITALITY AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

Wine raised the spirits of youth, and taught age to forget its grey hairs and disregard its infirmities: wine chased away thoughts of the hated underworld, the cheerless endless abode in the dreary and dark realm of shadows. The more dismal, comfortless, joyless the life of departed souls, so much the more the Greek felt bound to drink the cup of earthly joy to the dregs. All the world drinks, sings Anakreon, why should he not drink?

Thirsty earth drinks up the rain,
Trees from earth drink that again,
Ocean drinks the air, the sun
Drinks the sea, and him the moon.
Any reason canst thou think
I should thirst while all these drink?

Greek lyric poetry abounds with exhortations to drink and enjoy the fleeting hour; for example:

Drink, enjoy the hour: what the morrow bringeth
None can tell; then vex not thy soul with idle care:
Being and Not-Being but a point divideth;
Life is but a moment; then make that moment fair.
Piles of hoarded treasure, heaps of gold and silver –
Hades' self might chuckle when thou call'st them thine:
Surely thou hast nothing but that which thou enjoyest;
Only while enjoying canst thou say " 'tis mine."

If the lavish indulgence in wine brings its penalties with it, what matters it? the poet asks:

What can it matter whether slowly limping,
Or racer-swift I hasten to Death's dark abode?
Many feet will bear me when my own have failed me;
Then let me halt at pleasure over life's short road.
Surely at that banquet is a place reserved me
Whether late or early to the board I come;
What should then forbid me to dally by the wayside
With laughter, song, and kisses, ere these lips are dumb?

"Never alone appear the Immortals," sings Schiller, and so it was held in antiquity. Bacchos brings Eros with him, the wine brings love, and love and wine are followed by the Muses, the goddesses of song and poetry, music and dancing. When they attend the feast, the challenge to drink is at the same time a challenge to song, play, and the dance.

He who joy has never found
In the flute's entrancing sound,
Bacchos' gifts who dares despise,
Song and laugh and maidens' eyes,
He who at his grudging board
Thinks upon his growing hoard,
Reckoning interest in his head—
Him I count already dead.
Shuddering and disgusted, I
Pass the meagre carcase by.

Thus in the company of the gods was the banquet a festival, as Anakreon describes it, who was himself a tipsy Silenus, an old man with white hair and bald head, dancing and swinging the thyrsus, as he mingled with the youthful throng:

Now with roses we are crowned,
Let our mirth and cups go round,
While a girl, whose hand a spear
Wound with ivy twines doth bear,

GREECE.

With her white feet beats the ground,
To the lyre's harmonious sound
Played by some fair boy, whose choice
Skill is heightened by his voice ;
Bright-haired Love, with his divine
Mother, and the god of wine
Will flock hither, glad to see
Old men of their company.

At the Greek banquets it was not, as a rule, the guests who danced and played. True, at the beginning they might sing an ode, or perhaps a verse in succession ; but for the musical part the entertainer engaged professional artists.

At the feast of Kallias which Xenophon describes, as soon as the wine-drinking set in, a Syracusan entered the hall accompanied by a female flute-player, a young and pretty dancing-girl, and a lovely boy, who at once began to display their arts. The boy played the cithara, the flute-player her instrument, and the dancer accompanied with graceful motion the rhythm of the music. Then she took a number of hoops and tossed them in the air, one after the other, catching each as it fell and tossing it up again, always dancing in time to the music, until twelve were in the air at once. Then the boy



BACCHOS.
Statue in the Louvre.

danced, enchanting all by his beauty and the grace of his movements and attitudes. The girl then began a dangerous feat, which gave the spectators more uneasiness than pleasure. A large hoop was brought in, to which were attached swords, with the points upward, and the girl threw herself head foremost into it and out again, and danced over the swords, making her dancing movements and bounds with the greatest skill and precision without receiving the slightest wound.

Such acrobatic feats were carried to great perfection among the Greeks ; and such as could be combined with dancing were often exhibited at entertainments.

Female performers danced upon their hands, and used their feet as hands, tossing balls, and filling a cup from the mixing-bowl, holding the cup with one foot and the wine-dipper with the other. At the feast of Kallias, Sokrates took little pleasure in these performances, and least of all in the dangerous sword-dance, as not befitting the hilarity of a banquet ; while on the other hand he praised the mimetic art as offering fair and pleasing spectacles to the eye. For this too the Syracusan was prepared, for performances of this kind belonged to the arts of these itinerant artists, as well as to festive entertainments. After a little preparation the dancing girl makes her appearance as Ariadne in a rich bridal robe, and seats herself in a chair ; then, to the sound of the flute, the boy enters and draws near the forsaken maiden, and the first awakening of love is then represented by the two with such grace, such truth

HOSPITALITY AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

and nature, that the enchanted spectators are forced to believe that a scene of true and not mimic love is acted before their eyes.

But these and similar entertainments were not always expected by the guests. The Greeks had a multitude of games, of which some, such as dice-playing with *astragali* (small bones) or draughts, of which there were many kinds, were less suited for amusement at a carousal; but there were others quite adapted to this. Of the latter was the favourite *kottabos*, a game of skill, of which there were several varieties. One of these was played as well as can be made out, for the descriptions are not perfectly clear in the following manner:—a horizontal rod or scale-beam bearing a shallow bowl at one end, hung balanced in such a way that this bowl was above a little metallic figure called *Manes*, a common name of slaves. The art con-



FEMALE ACROBATS.

Sword-dance, and the trick of filling a vessel by use of the feet. From a vase-painting.

sisted in throwing from a distance a small quantity of wine so adroitly into the bowl that it sank and struck the head of the figure with a clang. This was considered a token of good omen in love affairs. The cast was usually made from a cup—some writers say, spirted from the mouth—and it demanded considerable practice and address to throw the whole of it into the bowl. Another and less difficult variety of the *kottabos* was played with miniature ships swimming in a great bowl or pan, and the art was to sink them by the cast of the wine. The successful player was rewarded with a crown or bright fillet to wind around his head, and often with a kiss; the unlucky one was condemned to some sportive penalty, such as drinking a cup of unmingled wine, or one mingled with salt water.

To assign these rewards and punishments was the duty of the master of the feast, the *archon*. At every entertainment in which drinking formed a prominent feature, an *archon* was chosen by ballot, or even by acclamation, if a guest happened to be present who was well versed in convivial laws and usages. Part of his duty consisted in determining the proportion of wine to water, and the size of the cups from which it should be drunk. They liked to begin with small cups, and progress to larger ones. These were shallow bowls, or tall beakers with slender stems, almost always provided with two handles, through one of which, as the paintings show

GREECE.

us, it was the fashion to thrust the forefinger, and swing the empty cups gracefully. The capacity of these cups was not unusual; but sometimes, when the revel was at its height, the archon had mighty bowls brought in; or one of the drinkers, conscious of his powers, set the mixing-bowl to his lips and drained off the whole.

It was the archon's duty also to guide and rule the conversation. The wine did not hinder word and wit, but rather stimulated them. Verses were composed and riddles propounded, with the penalties mentioned before in case of failure to solve them; and tales were told and discourses delivered upon some assigned topic.

This last was the case at that celebrated banquet which the poet Agathon gave his friends (416 B. C.) the day after his first victory as a tragic poet. Plato himself has described it, or perhaps invented it, for though there is no doubt that such a feast was given on that occasion, the great philosopher seems to have availed himself of it as a groundwork for the discourses which make up his book, the "*Symposion*," a treatise or discourse upon love, which,



DRINKING VESSELS BOWLS, BEAKERS, AND RHYTA.

in elegance, grace, and completeness, in true classicity, though thoroughly Greek, belongs to the best and choicest productions of the literature of all time.

A company of the most richly-gifted men of Athens are assembled, among them some of the best-known disciples of Sokrates, and himself, the chief master of the art of question and answer; Aristophanes the comic poet, Eryximachos a well-known physician, and Agathon the host, a poet with all the enthusiasm that youth, genius, beauty, and recent victory could bestow. Most of the guests had been left by the indulgence of the previous night in a condition not favourable to hard drinking; and so it was agreed that each should be allowed to drink as much or as little as he pleased; that the female flute-player whose services had been engaged should be dismissed or sent to entertain the ladies, and that they would pass the evening in conversation. Upon a suggestion of Phaidros it is resolved that each in his turn shall utter a discourse in praise of Love. So great a god, Phaidros said, was far too little sung and praised by the poets; and now they should try to make some reparation for this neglect. Then follow a series of discourses on Love, each characteristic of the speaker. One celebrates Eros as the oldest and mightiest of the gods, who rules both gods and men; another as the youngest and fairest, who never grows old; yet there is a twofold Eros, and it is needful to distinguish between the earthly love, and the heavenly, which leads to virtue. Eryximachos the physician, takes the ground of the student of nature, everywhere in which he discovers

love; Aristophanes on the other hand, true to his character, tells a most grotesquely comic mythos of the origin of love among mankind. According to his view, men originally were double creatures with four arms and four legs, who rolled about like wheels, but proving too mighty and dangerous in this form, Zeus split them in two, and now each half seeks to be re-united to its fellow. He is followed by the poet Agathon, who with eloquent words raises the subject once more to a poetic height, from which Sokrates, the last of the speakers, after exposing the contradictions of Agathon by a piece of calm clear dialectic, brings back the whole theme to prosaic reality. Then, starting from this solid ground, he develops his own views on love, and on beauty as the goal of its aim, as he himself, he says, received them from the Mantinean Diotima, a lady equally versed in love and philosophy. Repeating the conversations in which he was instructed by her, he leads his disciples gradually to purer regions, to the realm of ideas, to the eternal archetype of all beauty, free from all earthly admixture, the recognition and contemplation of which is all that makes life worth living.

The guests, however, do not tarry long on these sublime ethereal heights, and are soon reminded of the object of their assembling. During the discourse not only had the wine been neglected, but the night had grown late, and the hour arrived when parties usually broke up and guests sought their homes. And so, almost as Sokrates ended his discourse, there arose a noise at the door, and the voice of Alkibiades was heard, asking admission. Presently he himself appeared, intoxicated, supported by a flute-player and one of his companions, his head adorned with crowns and fillets, which he said he had brought to decorate Agathon. This he did, and then, seeing Sokrates beside him, placed a wreath on the satyr-head of his wise and loved friend. Yet still he did not depart, and observing that all the guests were sober, constituted himself symposiarch, and seizing a mighty bowl of wine, drank it off. Then he ordered it to be filled for Sokrates, saying that he could gain no glory over the latter, whom no quantity of wine could intoxicate. Now began the carousal; but the subject of discourse was not forgotten, and Alkibiades was called upon to take his turn in praising love. In its stead he gave them a eulogy of Sokrates, the strange and admirable man. Sokrates was next to follow with the praise of Agathon; but a new crowd of tipsy revellers burst in, who filled the hall with clamour. All order was now at an end; the drinking went on in wild confusion, and some departed, while others sank into drunken sleep. When the cocks began to crow, and the pale light of dawn streamed into the room, there sat only Sokrates with the poets Agathon and Aristophanes, whom he was trying to convince that a genuine tragic poet must be a comic poet also. Wearied out they both yielded the point, and fell asleep, Aristophanes first, then Agathon. Then at last, as it was now broad day, Sokrates arose, with cool head and steady gait, went to the Lyceum, bathed, and spent the day there as was his custom.

Such noisy endings to these banquets were not uncommon, especially when the guests were young men. With garlands on their heads they would then rush forth and wreath the flowers around the Hermes that stood at the door, or traversing the streets, disturbing the quiet of night with their drunken excesses and boisterous clamour, would seek the doors of some beauty and hang there their withered garlands, an offering often trampled under foot by the disdainful fair.

During the night the streets remained in charge of public slaves, mostly Scythians, armed with their natural weapon, the bow, whence they are usually called *toxotai*, or bowmen, and their captains *toxarchoi*. Their uncouth manners and broken Greek are mimicked by the comic poets, by whom they are sometimes brought upon the stage to play the part of the *exempt* in the old French comedy. The number of these policemen was about 1200, and they

GREECE.

encamped upon the Areiopagos. They were detailed for various duties, one of which was that of patrolling the streets at night, arresting thieves, and checking night-brawls. The young roysterers of Athens not only at times made night hideous with unmelodious howlings, but were known even to break in locked doors and intrude forcibly upon the premises of sober citizens. We have glimpses of an outrageous crew, who called themselves by the barbarous names of Triballoi, and delighted to go about beating and variously maltreating whomsoever they chanced to meet. Those whom they met, however, at least in the small hours, were probably not much more orderly than themselves; and the police, if not everywhere, were at least somewhere; and altogether the peaceable citizen enjoyed a moderate share of security, if not of quiet, during the hours of darkness.





STREET IN ATHENS WITH THE TOWER OF THE WINDS.

In the interior stands a clepsydra. On the outer walls are sun-dials, over which the winds are represented in a series of bas-reliefs. The bronze Triton at the top serves as a weather vane, and points with its wand to the figure of the prevailing wind.

6.

PUBLIC LIFE.



MIDNIGHT is past, the nightly revellers have sought their homes, day is just breaking over Athens. The regular night-watch, which on its rounds has stopped many a suspicious person, and here and there caught a prowling thief watching to pounce from the shadow upon the mantle of a passer-by, has disbanded and gone to rest. It is quiet in the narrow and steep irregular streets, quiet in the small unpretentious houses, in the public halls, the temple-squares, the market. As the dawn broadens, the public buildings are seen towering above the low and broken masses of dwellings; in the squares the numerous altars grow visible, and in the streets before each house the Hermai, busts of the god upon short quadrangular columns, in the antique traditional form the expression of hereditary piety, the symbol that both city and home have placed themselves under divine protection.

GREECE.

But as the day brightens and the sun darts its first rays over the horizon, new life awakes in the streets. The Athenian, as indeed did every Greek, arose at break of day, and as soon as he had broken his fast on a piece of bread dipped in wine, left the house to attend to his private or public business. But a still earlier riser is the countryman, who in the first grey of the morning brings his wares to the city to sell to the hucksters and small dealers; the products of the field and of the garden, vegetables and fruit, milk and honey, the aromatic honey of Hymettos, or whatever else his husbandry has produced, to supply the wants of the town-folk. Then come the slave-girls out of the houses, carrying upon their heads the gracefully-shaped pitchers, to be filled at the fountains adorned with genii and festoons, and gushing with an abundant supply of clear and pure water fed by conduits hewn through the rocks, monuments of the Peisistratidai. Boys come trooping to school, some poorly clad and unattended, others accompanied by their pedagogues, carrying their writing apparatus and musical instruments. Next come from all quarters the artisans and shopkeepers, hastening to their



SLAVE-GIRLS AT THE FOUNTAIN.

workshops, to their booths and stalls, all bending their courses to one point, for their occupations lie mostly in the market-place or its neighbourhood.

The market-place is the heart of the Greek city; from it run out, like arteries, the great streets which traverse city and country, and from it they are measured. The city is proud of its market; and the townsfolk do their best to make it stately and beautiful.

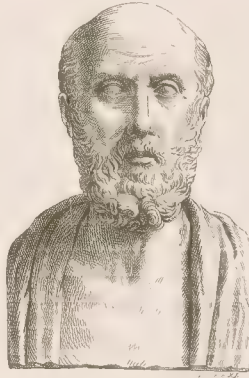
They adorn it with temples, altars, and a host of statues and monuments; they surround it with colonnaded porticoes whither the lounge, who loves to watch the gay life of the market, resorts, and in which he promenades. Here too is the place to seek and meet one's friends.

The market is not always symmetrically built, for it grows in conformity with the needs of the population, with the expansion of the city; and in its growth and monuments preserves a record of the city's history, and of its own. Thus it was with the market-place of Athens, which, taking its rise from the necessities of an insignificant manufacturing suburb, the Kerameikos, had to expand itself to meet the wants of a growing metropolis, and so widened to a large and irregular square, which indeed might rather be considered a quarter of the city.

PUBLIC LIFE.

Everything, every branch of trade and business, had here its allotted place; and the whole traffic was regulated by ordinances, enforced by the market-police, the *agoranomoi*, whose duty it was to maintain order, and who checked quarrels, looked to the goodness of the wares and their prices, saw that all weights and measures were of the proper standard, and the coin genuine and of full weight.

The visitor to the market, therefore, found everything in its place. In one part, some in the open air, others in booths of reeds or boards, stood the sellers of onions and garlic, a favourite vegetable with the lower class; in another the dealers in wine, fruit and other garden produce, in peas and lentils, which were sold cooked as well as raw; in another the girls who sold flowers, wreaths and fillets of bright hues, to deck the heads of banqueters; or the bread-sellers, on whose stalls might be seen towering piles of the cylindrical loaves. Wo to the unlucky wight whose awkwardness toppled over one of these piles, for a perfect deluge of abuse was poured upon him from the lips of these famous scolds. Elsewhere might be seen the pottery-market, the clothes-market, the fish-market, the latter a favourite resort of epicures, to which they all hurried when a bell announced the arrival of a lot of fish just from the sea, and where, too, the language was apt to be strong and idiomatic.



HIPPOKRATES.
From a bust in the Louvre.

But the market not only supplied the needs of them, who, although they did not complete their knowledge of anatomy by human dissections—this was not done until Alexandrian times—yet by long experience and faithful observation had attained much and sound knowledge, and were well worthy the confidence reposed in them. But among them were many charlatans of the most pernicious sort, of some of whom it was said that their mere appearance was fatal to the patient:—

The surgeon Menedemos, as men say,
Touched as he passed a Zeus of marble white:
Neither the marble nor his Zeus-ship might
Avail the god—they buried him to-day.

Even in a dream they were dangerous:—

Diophantes, sleeping, saw
Hermas, the physician:
Diophantes never woke
From that fatal vision.

Beside the physicians, who, in their open stalls or offices, examined patients and prescribed for their ailments at market-time, there were also quacks and mountebanks, who extolled

GREECE.

the virtues of ointments and nostrums of their own manufacture, sold amulets and charms, rings that protected the bearer from sickness and the bite of wild animals, and a variety of similar trash for which the populace were ready customers.

Though noisy and bustling enough here, a more solid and quiet business went on in that part of the market where the money-changers and bankers—called *trapezitai* from *trapeza*, a table—transacted business; and where the merchants and shippers mostly congregated. The *trapezitai* changed the foreign money, which the extension of commerce and the influx of strangers brought in considerable quantity to Athens and the larger coast-cities; and from



HERMES.
Statue in the Villa Borghese, Rome.



ASKLEPIOS
Statue in the Villa Albani, Rome.

them the traveller going abroad provided himself with foreign currency. There was plenty of counterfeit and light money afloat; so they carefully tested every piece, its fineness as well as its weight. These *trapezitai* also made collections for distant merchants and bankers, and made payments to their written orders. They took charge of estates, received cash deposits, and paid checks drawn on them, receiving a commission for their services: for men did not like to keep much money in their houses, and in this way were relieved of both risk and trouble. All this business was done in the market-place. And thus these booths were much frequented, especially by the wealthy, who availed themselves of the banker's services to buy and sell property, to lend or borrow money on interest, and often deposited their wills in his keeping. These bankers had safe cash-boxes, and a regular system of book-keeping.

Petty as well as large dealings, all centred in the market. True, criers and peddlers went about the streets, and there were shops and booths for provisions, and wine-shops scat-



Portico of King Attalus
 Portico of Lucius with the child Phaedrus
 Portico of the Epitaphia

Portico of King Attalus
 Portico of Lucius with the child Phaedrus

MARKET OF ATHENS.

Portico of King Attalus
 Portico of Lucius with the child Phaedrus

tered throughout the city; but the great bulk of the city's trade went on here. The swarm of petty shopkeepers and hucksters were held rather in contempt, though with the artisans they formed a formidable tool in the hands of demagogues, sycophants and sophists, and more than once played an important and even decisive part in the policy of the democracy. The wholesale dealers were held in higher estimation, of whom some were manufacturers whose works were carried on by slaves, and others merchants who exported and imported goods. Their ships, protected by the Athenian fleet, coasted along all the eastern half of the Mediterranean, and visited Sicily, Egypt, and even the ports of the Black Sea. Cargoes were sold by sample in the market, the warehouses being mostly in the harbour-town, the Peiraios, where large buildings stretched along the shore, separated from the sea only by a wide street.

Nearly all the dealers in the market were men; but the bread-sellers and flower-girls formed exceptions. They did not enjoy the best reputation, the latter especially, who, when young and pretty, had to listen to many things, and probably listened without excessive prudery. Here for instance is a question whose pretty turn may excuse its reproduction here:

Thou with the basket of roses, thyself a rose, what art selling?
Roses? Thyself? Thyself, perchance, and thy roses together?

As the selling, so the purchasing, was done almost entirely by men. It would have been thought highly improper for the lady of the house to go marketing; so the master came himself, at least when he had invited friends for the evening, and wished to make a special preparation. At other times this was the duty of a chosen and trusted servant, who daily visited the market in the early morning to cater for the day's requirements. He who was so poor as not to possess a slave, had of course to go in person to buy the boiled lentils, the peas or beans, the onions or garlic, which composed his frugal meal. This was the custom of the workmen, the humbler artisans, and the soldiers, who carried off their measure of peas in their helmets.

But it was not business alone that took men to the market; Athens and the other Greek cities had plenty of loungers and gossippers who knew no more agreeable way to pass a morning than here, where they were amused by the busy crowd and the ever-changing series of pictures presented. There were the young men of fashion, the dandies, with flowers in their hands, displaying affectedly their new and fine dresses. Here also were the serious men, the venerable gray heads, taking their morning exercise in the shady porticoes, or, watchful of men and their ways, moving through the busy throng, and here and there chatting with a friend. Now you might see two or three together, with the short Lakonian mantle, the philosopher's garb, thrown over the shoulders, leaning with both hands on the long knotty staff, their constant companion. So Sokrates was a daily visitor of the market and the work-shops, entering into conversation with any and everybody, and drawing him out with questions: no one was too humble or insignificant for him. Thus appeared—a grotesque interlude to the usual daily performance—Diogenes “the dog,” the gray-beard sage, bearing his lantern in broad daylight through the thronged market, looking for men, real men, such as he could not find; while the wonder and laughter of the crowd followed the despiser of worldly vanity and human folly.

Yet not all Greeks, and especially not all Athenians, had time to visit the market, and many were obliged to sacrifice even their private business to public duties. The market-hours, from sunrise to mid-day, were also those claimed by the state, which every day demanded the services of a considerable part of the citizens. In the earlier times, administrative duties, public affairs, and judicial matters rested in the hands of the noble and wealthy, who could attend to them all without any care for payment. The working class was then necessarily excluded

GREECE.

by the very fact that they had to think of earning their subsistence, and had no time to spare from that for public duties. As a class, also, they did not enjoy such consideration that their fellow citizens would have been content to see them in the government or the courts. Only the really free man whose hereditary possessions gave him complete independence, and whose landed estates secured him an influential position, was originally deemed fit to hold an administrative or judicial office.

This was all different in those states where the democracy prevailed, and so in Athens beyond all others. Here Solon's system, as expanded by Kleisthenes, had opened the door to the democracy, though some time elapsed ere this obtained the entire control. So long as the service of the state required wealth and independence, it was hard for the working-classes



ATHENIANS CONVERSING.

to avail themselves fully of their right. But as soon as their presence in the assembly and at the courts was paid for, and especially after the juryman's fee, through Kleon's efforts, was fixed at three obols, a sum which sufficed for the day's necessities, and about equalled the daily earnings of the workingman,—then the populace rushed into public affairs and became possessed with that inextinguishable passion for politics which is the constant concomitant of democracy.

This state of things had its good and its bad side ; and such a population as that of Athens and Attika exhibited both in the highest degree. That which made Greece the wondrous land it was —the extraordinary receptivity and excitability of the Greek mind—was the fundamental characteristic of the Athenians above all others. This excitability and elasticity explains a host of phenomena in their culture and contradictions in their history. Their mood changed with an almost childish impulsiveness. In one moment carried away in a passion of enthusiasm to the most arduous exertions, the most self-sacrificing devotion, the boldest enterprises, on the first disaster they sank into deep despondency, fear and dejection, only to rise up presently with fresh hope and energy. This free and intellectual people, the world's teachers

PUBLIC LIFE.

of culture and refinement, creators of the most liberal philosophical systems, in their comedies mocking and scoffing at all that tradition had handed down as venerable and divine,—this free people was plunged in the deepest superstition, and with pitiless intolerance banished or put to death its best and freest spirits. Quick to recognize whatever was lofty, noble and fair, ready to acknowledge and reward the deserts of its great men, it now greets them with triumphant acclaim, then persecutes them with ingratitude and injustice, and even with cruelty. Thus close together stood the noble and the base; the strong and the weak side of freedom, its virtues and its vices.

Gifted with such a nature, the people, by the democratic system, was thrown into the stream of public affairs and politics. The populace was certainly elevated by its participation in these; it learned the constitution of the state, the practice of law and equity, and grew more patriotic; it learned to interest itself in matters above its mere mechanical life, such as the works of art and architecture with which Perikles adorned his native city. But on the other hand it was withdrawn from its proper occupation, it grew fond of idleness and the amusing and exciting life of the assembly and the courts, and did not attain wisdom enough to prevent its becoming a tool in the hands of ambitious and unprincipled demagogues. These men flattered the vanity of the people, for which the fame and greatness of Athens gave a plausible excuse; and in this way they gained the ear of the populace and filled it with hate, distrust, and suspicion. Their game was made easier for them by the really free, independent, and cultivated men withdrawing, weary and disgusted, from political life; so that at last to the question, what is the state? the answer might have been given, the rabble of the poor, hungry, low-born, and base.

But such demagogues as Kleon and his peers were not the worst breed that throve under the democracy. Beside them flourished the sycophants, a class whose proper business was to involve men in lawsuits. Originally used by the popular leaders to weaken their political adversaries by entangling them in webs of litigation and chicane, the sycophants became a gang of spies and practised their trade of delation against private citizens, partly to gratify their own or others' grudges, but chiefly for the extortion of black-mail. Anything that gave a handle for a prosecution they hunted up, invented evidence, provided false witnesses, and drove their business with such skill that at last no one, not even the most upright, but especially not the rich and distinguished, was safe from being dragged before the courts on a false charge bolstered up by perjury, and condemned by suspicious and partisan judges.

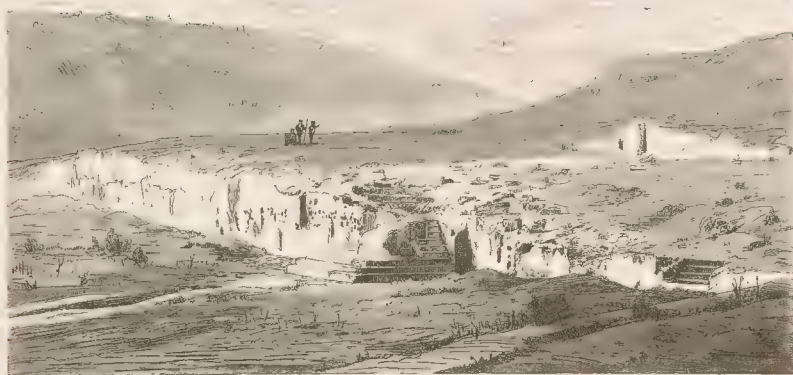
Athens became a genuine tilting-ground for lawyers, a camp of courts, a mere nest of lawsuits. The people were infected with a murrain of litigation, and thought of nothing but judges, lawyers, and suitors. "The cicada," says Aristophanes, "sings but a month, while the people of Athens are buzzing with lawsuits and trials their whole life long." And to satirise this evil he brings on the stage in his *Birds* two citizens who, having found Athens a city whose only use is

"To waste one's wealth and property in lawsuits,"

travel forth to found, in the clouds, by help of the birds, a new city bearing the name of "Cloud-cuckoo-town." And hardly is the new city founded, and the report of it come to Athens, when the whole swarm of sycophants and others of that kidney comes flocking in hot haste to it.

At early morning the streets of Athens began to be alive with the people going to the courts. A fourth or fifth part of the whole population was in motion toward the ten different

GREECE.



THE PNYX IN ITS PRESENT APPEARANCE.

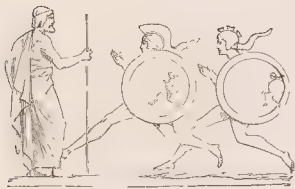
quarters of the city where they were held. After the judicial authority had been assumed by the whole body of citizens, except in certain special classes of suits, every day five thousand citizens sat in the seats of justice. From all who were over thirty years of age, six thousand were drawn by lot every year as jurymen for the *Heliaia*; of these one thousand were set aside as talesmen, and the other five thousand *heliasts* distributed themselves into ten *dikasteries* throughout the city, the court to which each belonged being assigned him by lot. Every day in the year, public festivals and popular assemblies alone excepted, they sat from early morning till noon, the judges on high benches, and the suitors on a platform. The place of justice was inclosed, but the proceedings were public, and were attended by large audiences. Plaintiff, defendant, and witnesses had to appear in person; and each must, at first at least, speak for himself, after which the orator or lawyer was allowed to plead the case. These orators were a class well versed in all the turns and quirks of the law, trained in the school of the sophists, masters of every quibble, evasion, and equivocation, fluent and ready in debate.

The Athenians loved to attend the courts; the pleadings and wranglings gratified their litigious taste, and the fees for attendance compensated the most of them for the loss of time. Otherwise was it with the great popular assembly which was held four times a month on the terraces of the Pnyx, a piece of raised ground west of the acropolis, for the fee for attendance here was very small. So the populace preferred to lounge and chatter in the market, and leave the Pnyx deserted. But the chiefs of the assembly, the Prytanes, who were often reproached with slackness, not coming until near noon, devised a drastic means to compel attendance. Two policemen stretched a rope freshly smeared with red paint across the streets leading from the market to the Pnyx, and drove the crowd before them; the unlucky ones that were touched with the rope having to pay a fine. So at their appearance the whole throng scurried to the assembly, each trying to get a place on the foremost seats. Here all was kept in order by special bailiffs and policemen; the business was opened with religious ceremonies, after which, motions, to use the modern phrase, were in order. Each citizen of full age

PUBLIC LIFE.

had the right to make or speak to a motion, and while he spoke he wore a crown, the sign of inviolability.

The assembly decided on all public matters, but the conduct and execution of its decisions lay in the *Boule* or council, a select body of five hundred members, chosen, after the time of Kleisthenes, by lot, and changed every year. The council held its sessions in the *Bouleuterion*, a building between the Akropolis and the market, not in a full body, but in sections of fifty, called *Prytaneiai*, the members being the Prytanes. These sections took their turns by lot. It was these who had the conduct of important business; they guided the assembly and carried out decisions; they had the initiative in legislative matters, the control of the public finances, the soldiery and the marine, of war and peace, so far as the decision of the assembly was not necessary; they received foreign envoys and despatched their own. As the *Boule* was changed every year, every Athenian citizen, the proudest and humblest, as well as the wealthy and influential, might hope once or twice in his life, if not oftener, to be a member of the chief administrative body of the state. While obeying the laws he had the proud and ennobling feeling that in reality he was also one of the masters and rulers; a right, it is true, which he not seldom used with extreme tyranny.





EXCAVATIONS AT OLYMPIA.

7.

LIFE OF LEISURE—GYMNASTICS AND GAMES.



UT, though the Greek state claimed the entire surrender of the citizen, it was not over-exacting in its demands upon him. Neither political life, nor the duties of the courts, nor military service, nor even official duties entirely absorbed his time and energies. The state left him leisure enough for his cultivation, mental and physical, for his tastes and enjoyments. And in fact in the enjoyment and occupation of this leisure the free, well-born, and independent man saw the true business of his life, a life worthy of him; while the making of money and acquisition of property, even on a large scale, was considered as having something ignoble, mean, and peddling about it. This view prevailed even in the time of Perikles, while the *aristoi* or "best men" still took part in government and public affairs; it grew and strengthened as the democracy became more unmanageable and the nobles stood aside; and it was the constant teaching of the philosophers and their disciples. Leisure, says Aristotle, is the proper goal of activity; not, it is true, for mere amusement, for amusement is not the object of life. Leisure is not indolence, but the recreation of the soul and a noble occupation of the

unoccupied. Leisure itself is an art; an art of life, which carries with it its own enjoyment.

It must be admitted that, though the number increased, yet relatively there were but few, and those only the highest and most refined, who were capable of thus enjoying leisure and making an art of life. This faculty indeed presupposes a certain calm and settled age, which has left behind the stormy and turbulent period of life, both within and without. Passionate youth, energetic and ambitious manhood, demand other occupations and pleasures to fill up the hours of leisure.

In Sparta the youth had no leisure; Lykurgos allowed rest to the old alone. The youths and younger men passed the time in perpetual exercises and preparations for war, or else in war itself; the only rest they had was the very moderate allowance of sleep. Even hunting was followed not as an amusement, but as a training for war. But it was otherwise in Athens. When the young Athenian had reached the age of an *ephebos*, and had performed the obligatory garrison-duty in the frontier fortresses of Attika from his eighteenth to his twentieth year, then his public duties and military exercises—for the courts had no claim upon him until he had reached the age of thirty—left him sufficient time to employ as befitted a young noble.

As to the way in which this life was led, the ideas prevalent in Athens, and indeed in all Greece, were in a high degree liberal and tolerant. The soul, they thought, should develop freely and naturally; they did not seek to quench or dampen the fire of youth, believing that after the age of passion, a thoughtful, self-controlling period would naturally follow; so they let nature take her course. The result was that unaffected, simple, natural character of the Hellenes, combining the candour, amiability and grace of the child, with the intelligence and calm of mature age: the result was that perpetual youth with which the life and works of the Greeks are saturated.

Brief is the time that the roses bloom, and when they have vanished
Findest thou roses no more: nothing is left but the thorns

That is—youth passes swiftly, and then come the cares and troubles of the man, the infirmities of age, and behind all, death, with the dreary and comfortless existence in the realm of shades. Youth was to be enjoyed: that was the teaching of all sages as well as all poets.

While the bloom of beautiful youth is upon thee,
While thy soul is full of life's glory and might,
Live, enjoy; for no second youth is allowed thee,
No dawn comes to cheer that perennial night.

In love-matters, both custom and public opinion allowed the young man great liberty. In proportion as they were strict in their views of conjugal morality, so were they lenient to the life before marriage. Bacchos and Eros were the gods whom the young Greek worshipped, and whose might completely subjugated him.

"Hard is Eros, hard!" What helps me my lamenting
"Hard is Eros, hard!" with sighs of bitter woe?
Still he mocks my sorrow, rejoices in my anguish,
And all my sharpest chiding but makes him thrive and grow.

Love-intrigues were allowed to the young man, and the public saw nothing objectionable in them, whether carried on openly or secretly. The poets are fond of telling how neither

GREECE.

the dangers of jealousy, nor beating storm could hinder the lover from stealing to meet his mistress. But he was not always admitted; and it might even happen that the dawning day found him sleeping on the threshold of the obdurate fair. Many of these fair, however, were far from obdurate. Gay parties of girls and young men would traverse the streets at night with song, and the music of flutes and citharas, while torches threw a red light over the garlanded revellers. Wild pranks and riotous mirth were never wanting; and they not seldom came to blows with each other, or with the watchmen who tried to check these nightly disturbances. The hetairai of the better classes, some of whom lived even sumptuously, often gave entertainments to their friends, or were entertained by them, either at their own homes or at a tavern.

There were many of these taverns in which the gay youth were frequent guests. They



NOCTURNAL REVELLERS.
From a vase-painting.

came thither to converse, to game, to drink, or to feast in the fashion of a picnic. Often it was a particular coterie; for in Athens the young men had established clubs called *hetairiai*, "friendships," some of which were political associations, but the greater number were simply social. After the Peloponnesian war it was the fashionable thing to belong to one of these clubs. This familiar association of intelligent, cultivated young men, gave rise to many opportunities of mirth and merriment.

The young men also delighted in sport with dogs, birds and horses. Hounds and singing-birds were favourite pets, but the fashionable youth gave the preference to cocks and quails, both kept for fighting. They were bred for this purpose, and brought high prices; and wagers were laid on the matches. A higher taste was shown in the fondness for fine horses, and good horsemanship, which, as well as chariot-racing, was a favourite accomplishment throughout all Greece, but most of all, at Athens.

Horsemanship seems to have been a comparatively modern art. Homer and the heroic times knew the horse almost exclusively as a draught-animal. The heroes fought, not on

LIFE OF LEISURE -GYMNASTICS AND GAMES.

horseback, but in chariots; a pair of powerful steeds were attached to the two-wheeled vehicle, in which the warrior stood, having his charioteer on his left. At a later time, chariot-racing was introduced in the great Olympic games, and became the chief of all the combats, that which brought the most renown; and as it was expensive, it was the richest and most distinguished of the Greeks, the princes and tyrants of the cities and states, that sent chariots and horses to Olympia. So it became the fashion and ambition to maintain a costly and magnificent stud, as Alkibiades did, who sent at once seven teams to Olympia; but it was an ambition that not seldom ruined those that indulged it. It had, however, the good result that it



GREEK CHARIOT.
Vase-painting.

improved the breed of horses, especially when skilful horsemanship as well as charioteering was cultivated; and introduced into Greece the arts of the manège, and the lighter race of Oriental horses. The first horse known in Greece had been brought over the sea; and for this reason the animal was sacred to Poseidon. When it was trained for riding, Pallas Athene, the goddess of the arts, the patroness of Attika, became the patroness also of horsemanship.

At the battles of Marathon and Plataia the Athenians had no cavalry; but not a century later the procession of the Panathenaia was escorted by a cavalcade of horsemen well skilled in the equestrian art, horsemen who, as Pheidias has carved them, seem as if rider and steed were but one. These were the Athenian horses, strong and sinewy, light and active, life in every muscle, with an eye of fire and intelligence, but a fire moderated and disciplined: horses of Barbary race, made Greek by careful breeding and training.

The Athenians raised horsemanship to an art; their training, as Xenophon describes it to us, did not consist of severe breaking, harsh restraint, and rough treatment; they looked

GREECE.

upon the horse as a friend, an intelligent creature, and treated it sensibly, gently, and affectionately. If we have an inexpressible pleasure in contemplating the riders on the frieze of the Parthenon, their easy and firm seat, without saddle or stirrups, maintained by the grasp of the thighs upon the fiery and yet docile animal, so noble, free, and graceful in their attitudes and movement, we can understand how the young Athenian nobles, "the knights," were passionately devoted to a luxury, whose expensiveness often drove their parents almost to desperation. This is the case with the unlucky Strepsiades in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, who can not sleep for his horse-racing son Pheidippides :

"I can not sleep a wink, they bite me so :
All my expense, I mean : my debts, my debts ;
All through this son of mine. The long-haired scamp
Is riding nags and driving curricles
And dreaming of his horses, while poor I
Am tortured by the sight of that curst moon
That's bringing on the 20th of the month
When interest must be paid."

Hunting was less in favour as an amusement with the Greeks. It was not a business ; neither was it followed with passion, as in the middle ages ; nor yet was it a high art, as in modern times. Anybody might hunt, and hunt anywhere, except where some proprietor refused to let strangers hunt over his grounds. The young Spartan hunted with the spear on Mount Taygetos, in whose gorges roamed bears and wild boars : he hunted for the simple pleasure in exercise and excitement, and because it was thought a good training for a soldier, demanding courage, strength, presence of mind, and resolution. Stags, roes, and hares were hunted with bows and arrows, by the help of dogs : and Artemis the patroness of hunting is represented with chiton girded high, and hunter's boots, bow in hand, quiver on shoulder, and hound at her side. Birds were caught with snares and limed twigs, and the fowler invoked the aid of Pan. This woodland deity knew the haunts of all forest creatures, and could drive the game to the snares ; therefore a part was offered to him : and at last when the old hunter, weary of his toilsome life and its meagre gains, had renounced it forever and taken his final rest, his bow and spear were dedicated to Pan.

We are not told if the hunter, beside his pleasure in tracking and ensnaring the game, found a delight in the free life of field and forest ; if he had a sense for the perfumes of the woodland, the air of the mountain, the charms of the landscape. It has of late been rather the fashion to maintain that the Greeks had no feeling or sensibility for the beauty of nature. It is true, nature can claim no division of Greek literature as her own ; just as they had no landscape-painting as a separate branch of art ; the description of natural scenery in beautiful words was never the aim of their writers and poets, as little as was that of their artists to portray landscapes or sketch views. The Greeks devoted themselves but little, if at all, to the study of nature in the sense of endeavouring scientifically to penetrate her secrets, and the causes of the origin and the decay of things, or to trace her mysterious forces ; and just as little did they occupy themselves with attempts to avail themselves of these powers for the material improvement of life. Such portrayal, contemplation, and investigation were not in their way. But hence it by no means follows that they were insensible to the manifold charms and beauties of landscape in which their country abounded, and that they had not keen feelings for the changing aspects of nature : on the contrary, there is abundant evidence that the Greek soul vibrated to the tones of nature and sympathised with her moods.

Indeed, how is it conceivable that the Greeks, who had that incomparable feeling for

the beauty of the human body, who, without the help of anatomy and dissections, almost from mere observation and study of the surface, produced such admirable and life-like sculptured forms—how is it conceivable that they should have lacked the sense for all the other beauties of form, and line, and colour which nature offers? For example, to one standing on the Akropolis, and seeing beneath him marble terraces, gates, temples, porticoes, and colossal statues all glowing in the ruddy light of the evening sun, was presented one of the most splendid and impressive views that the world has to offer; and can we imagine that when they stood there and looked out over land and sea, their eyes were blind to all the glory and loveliness that surrounded them? At their feet lay the hills upon which old Athens was built, here abrupt and rugged as the Arciopagos, there soft and rounded as the hill of the Museum and the



ARTEMIS, THE GODDESS OF THE CHASE.
Statue in the Louvre.

Nymphs. Growing ever higher as they advance, these hills stretch away north and east to the noble mountains of Pentelikos and Parnes; while with an infinity of lines and masses they slope away southward to the sea. The glance, in one direction bounded by a circuit of pine-clad mountains, in another sweeps over the wide plain with its olive-groves, gardens, and vineyards, through which flow the Kephissos and the Ilissos, dotted with dwellings and hamlets and temples embowered in thickets of laurel and pine, away to the sea that rolls its deep

blue waves into the softly indented bays. And out of this sea arise islands, larger and smaller, immortal Salamis, Aigina with its rocky terraces, behind it, to the south, the shore of the Peloponnesos, the rocky coast of Argolis with its bold mountain-range, even the Kyllenian mountains, the pride of Arkadia, relieved in tints of soft silvery gray against the deep blue sky. A vast prospect, embracing an infinity of details; but in this transparent air all pure, clear, distinct, the lights and the shadows, the relief, the play of soft flowing contours, melting into each other, appearing and vanishing, and over all the heavenly light which floods land and sea, near and far, with a wealth of hues and tints, in endless harmony of colour.

GREECE.

But it is not necessary for us to have recourse to the beauty of the land which generations after generations have admired and celebrated, down to our own time. The Greek writers and poets, from Homer—the "blind" Homer, who had the surest eye for sublimity and beauty, and for all characteristic features of nature, and ever found the happiest and exactest words in which to describe them—down to the bucolic writers, the idyllists and epigrammatists, early and late, all are full of passages, which, though not long descriptions, breathe the very poetry of nature. All show the feeling for the great and mighty, as well as for the small and delicate; for the effect and harmony of the whole, as for the minute details.

Brightly glitters the rosy sea, and the blast of the tempest
No more drives the waves on in a fury of foam;
Now the raging surf no more, on the rocky wall broken,
Leaps aloft to the stars, plunges again in the deep,
Zephyros now breathes soft o'er the plain, and the twittering swallow,
Hastes to her work, and with straw busily buildeth her nest.



PLAIN OF ATHENS WITH AIGINA AND THE MOUNTAINS BEYOND, SEEN FROM THE AKROPOLIS.

As the storm and the calm of the sea, as the breathing of the west-wind, and the nest-building swallow, so the poets love to describe the deep shades of the forest and the crystal brook beneath them, to which the weary and thirsty wayfarer comes for refreshment and rest.

Weary wanderer, rest in the shade of the pine-trees,
Whose leaves, wind-stirred, ever light whisperings keep:
Hard by flows a murmuring rivulet, while the
Flute's soft tones shall tenderly lull thee to sleep.

Thus also they sing the plains bright with flowers and spring, the roses unfolding their crimson chalices, the ivy softly winding its twines about a grave, the vine loaded with grapes; they sing the denizens of wood and plain, the lamenting nightingale, the chirping cicada, and the humming bee, the messenger of spring.

All know the beautiful choral song in which Sophokles sings of the grove at Kolonos:

Kolonos, glistening bright,
Where evermore, in thickets freshly green,
The clear-voiced nightingale
Still haunts and pours her song,

LIFE OF LEISURE—GYMNASTICS AND GAMES.

By purpling ivy hid
And the thick leafage sacred to the god,
With all its myriad fruits,
By mortal's foot untrod,
By sun's hot ray unscathed,
Sheltered from every blast,

—where under the dew of heaven the narcissus blooms, and the crocus flaming with gold, and unslumbering rivulets flow. But this is not a solitary case. Even in the comic poet Aristophanes we may see bursts of true feeling for nature break through the very midst of his wildest mockery and mirth, whether he summons the nightingale to pour the flood of sacred song from her breast, "for sweetly mourns thy heavenly mouth," or lets the chorus of birds sing their own praises, how they dwell

On the lap of the land, in flowery meads, or the frost-sheltered clefts of the mountains—

or when he depicts the delights of a walk in the country about Athens—

In the olive-grove of the Academe thou wilt walk with a pleasing companion,
Breathing sweet odours and indolent ease and the balm of the leaf-tossing aspen,
Glad in the season of spring, when the plane to the elm is whispering softly.

Is not that a touch of the sentimentality of the eighteenth-century poets of nature and friendship? But this is antique; it is Greek; it is Aristophanes. Plato, the poet-philosopher, once at least, seems an idyllic poet like Gessner, in that passage in the *Phaidros* where he represents Sokrates as admiring and describing the beauty of a chosen spot. Their conversation has led the sage, whose whole interest centred in men, out into the open air, to the cool green banks of the *Ilissos*, and *Phaidros* proposes that they shall rest in the shade on the soft turf, and discourse of love and beauty. "By *Hera*," says Sokrates, "a delightful resting-place; the great plane-trees spread their branches wide; the tall *agnus castus* casts a broad shade, and its blossoms, now in their fullest bloom, fill the air with fragrance. Beneath the plane gushes a spring of cool water, probably sacred to the nymphs, or to *Acheloös*, if we may judge from the statues which adorn it. Observe further how sweet and truly delightful is the air here; and how summer-like and pleasant resounds the song of the cicadas. But pleasantest of all is the green sward which invites us to recline upon it and repose our heads."

What is it but true and deep feeling for nature, sympathy with her moods, when the Greek animates all the external world with divinities, in the tree sees a dryad, on mountains and in glens catches glances of the flitting oreads, when streams and rivers are naiads, and the fountain a nymph bathing in its clear water her delicate, rosy feet? The sea he peoples with the companies of tritons and nereids, the forest with tailed fauns and goat-footed satyrs, at their head Pan the horned god of the herds, the lover of the woods, the mountain-ranger, dweller in the forest and on lofty mountain-peaks, who with the wild notes of the *syrtinx* gathers about him all these divine powers of nature. When the hot noon lies upon forest and mountain, and nature seems sunk in repose, and the air quivers and glitters in the fierce rays, then Pan sleeps. There is a touch of romanticism in Herodotos when he tells of that Athenian herald who at the landing of the Persians was sent in haste to ask help from Sparta, and to whom Pan appeared as he was crossing the mountain-heights. It was the sense of mountain desolation, the deep loneliness of the forest, that came upon him and mastered him. There is a touch of romanticism too in the myth of *Artemis-Selene*, the moon-goddess, who became enamoured of the sleeping *Endymion*, the beautiful shepherd; a strange love-story, full of moonlight and forest-odours, which fascinated even the Greek soul.

GREECE.

So we may be sure that if the Greek loved to rove and ramble, and made it part of the enjoyment of his leisure, he felt the charm of nature. True, he reckoned on conversation as a necessary part of this enjoyment. Conversation, lively talk, witty, intelligent discourse, was a necessity to the Greek; and in it he found the best, most agreeable, and at the same time



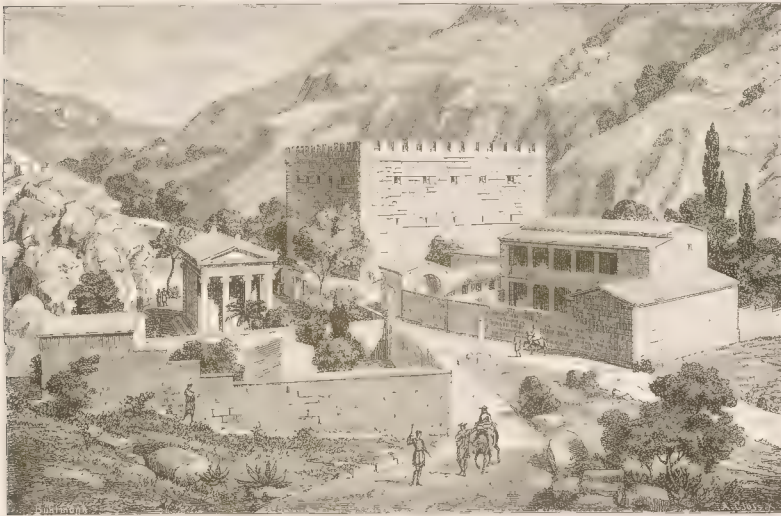
FAUN OF PRAMITELES.
In the Vatican.

most profitable recreation. Nowhere did conversation reach higher perfection than among the lively, susceptible, versatile, and witty Athenians. The conflux of men of all races and lands, Egyptians and Babylonians not excepted, in this cosmopolitan city, the attraction which drew all the richly-gifted to this centre of culture, science and art, gave continually fresh stimulus, fresh charms, and new elements. So in Athens conversation grew to be a refined pleasure, and then an art, which was cultivated with exquisite taste, after Sokrates

LIFE OF LEISURE—GYMNASTICS AND GAMES.

had made it a method of instruction and investigation. From him and his school the philosophical conversational form passed into literature and science.

But if nature was an element of delight in walks and ramblings, it had but slight charms for men upon a journey. There was much travelling in the flowering time of Greek history, and the ways by land and sea were never deserted; but no one travelled as now to see beautiful lands, or to enjoy the grandeur of mountains or the loveliness of blooming plains. If such presented themselves, they were looked at with approval, and that was all. Travelling, too, was more or less uncomfortable. Voyaging in open boats or sailing vessels was not without danger as well as inconvenience; and it was customary



Temple of Aphrodite.

ROAD FROM ELEUSIS TO ATHENS.
Castle.

Inn.

to sacrifice to the marine deities for protection, or pray to Priapos, the god of ports, for a safe passage to the desired haven. The roads were not everywhere bad; those, for instance, which led to celebrated temples or other holy places were reasonably good, and beside them stood sanctuaries, monuments, altars, benches or other resting-places for the wayfarer, and here and there inns, though poor enough for the most part, and rarely provided to accommodate wheeled vehicles. For this reason men preferred to travel on foot, and have their luggage carried by slaves. When vehicles were used, those with two wheels were preferred, and generally drawn by mules: women and sick persons were carried in litters.

The traveller had a special purpose and destination. Travel was mostly for trading purposes, or to visit the great festivals and games. Political objects, or the love of adventure, also gave occasion for travel; for after the Peloponnesian war Hellenic mercenaries served in all lands, and no war, no victory, was without them. The men of art or science, and of letters, also travelled, to see men and their ways; but visiting lands and cities in order to describe

GREECE.

whatever was worthy of note, as did Dikaiarchos, Pausanias and Strabo, came into vogue later. Yet even before this time a thirst for knowledge had impelled a few individuals to visit far lands; and in this way Herodotos, the Father of History, collected the materials for his great work. Then men of high rank, the princes and tyrants, loved to collect about them the notabilities of the day, who gave splendour to their courts and refinement to their pleasures: and thus in early times had done the Peisistratidai, Polykrates of Samos, and above all, the tyrants of Sicily. Upon their invitations came the poets Simonides, Pindar and Aischylos, and later, Plato; while on the other hand the philosophers from all sides streamed to Athens.

But this travelling and wandering was not really consonant with the taste of the Greeks, at least after the period of colonization. After a wild or laborious youth, after a manhood actively spent in the service of the state, when age came on, the Hellene yearned for perfect leisure and rest. The Greek was a pessimist in his general view of human affairs: and more than one has recorded it as his opinion that life was not worth living; that the best thing would be not to come into the world at all, and next to that, to depart from it as quickly as possible. "I am weary of it all," is a sigh which often broke from the Greek heart. Sick of political wrangling, wearied with the toils and hardships of war by land and sea, worn out with the storms and journeyings of life, the Greek in his inmost soul felt the longing for rest and peace.

Often hast thou granted, Zeus, what I besought thee,
Safe from harm hast brought me o'er the watery track,
Grant me now to prosper this once more, the last time,
Speed me safely thither, and bring me safely back.
Life is peace and rest: I do not call it living
When cares and dangers keep one forever on the rack.

To this life of leisure also belongs the life and activity of the *gymnasia*, the places of physical exercise. Free men usually passed here the greater part of the day: when, as noon drew near, the markets and courts began to empty, the streets leading to the *gymnasia* were alive with men; the young coming for the exercise which was to develop the body, and the old to preserve their strength and activity; here came the artists to study the nude form; many to see the practice, and especially the matches and contests, of which they were passionately fond. Here also came the sages and philosophers, who gathered their disciples about them for instructive discourse: here men found their friends or met them by appointment, and passed the heat of the day pleasantly in friendly chat in the cool porticoes or under the shade of the trees.

But this gymnastic life was not merely a life of enjoyment and leisure; it was a serious thing, and men applied themselves to it seriously: it was a preparation for war, for combat and renown, an essential and most important part of Hellenic life. No Greek without gymnastics, without the complete development of the body. The aim was at once beauty and efficiency—strength and activity combined, to qualify the man to defend his country, or to contend successfully for the prize in the games. The prize was a simple wreath, but with it were twined fame and honour throughout all Greece, not only for the victor himself, but for his native city.

The *gymnasia* therefore were everywhere state-affairs. At first the exercises were held anywhere where there was a convenient open space. But as they acquired importance, and were developed into a system, the state provided the places and erected the necessary



OLYMPIC GAMES.

buildings, which, after a while, grew to be among the stateliest in the land. As their purposes required much room, the gymnasia covered an unusual area. Athens had three: the Kynosarges, the Lykeion, and the Akademia, of which the last, situated in a dell and surrounded by a shady grove, was a favourite resort for promenaders. They were all of such a size that the arms-bearing population of the city could muster and exercise in them. They contained areas for wrestling, for casting the diskos, and hurling the javelin, and courses for the dromos or long-race. Parts of the buildings were also used as dressing-rooms; for anointing the body with oil and sanding it, as also for the cleansing with the *xystra* or curved scraper; for cold and warm baths, fires, and lodgings of the officials and attendants. To these were added porticoes for games and conversation, colonnades and halls, places for the spectators, walks, gardens, and copses of trees. As the gymnasium was always dedicated to a god, altars, ornaments and statues were never wanting.

The regular exercises were very simple as compared with our complex modern devices, and our formidable and ingenious engines were unknown to them. Running, leap-wound with a thong which gave it a rotary motion as it left the hand; and distance as well as accuracy were striven for. Casting the diskos was practised in the heroic age. It was a circular plate of bronze or iron, about eight inches in diameter, which was grasped by the whole hand, swung, and cast with all possible force, he who cast the furthest being the victor. Before the throw it was carried in the left hand in order not to fatigue the right. Both positions are shown in the two famous statues of *diskoboloi*. Wrestling also was developed to a genuine art. The victory did not depend upon strength alone; there were rules, sleights, advantages of various kinds in which the novice was instructed; so that skill and dexterity not seldom bore off the prize from mere brute force.

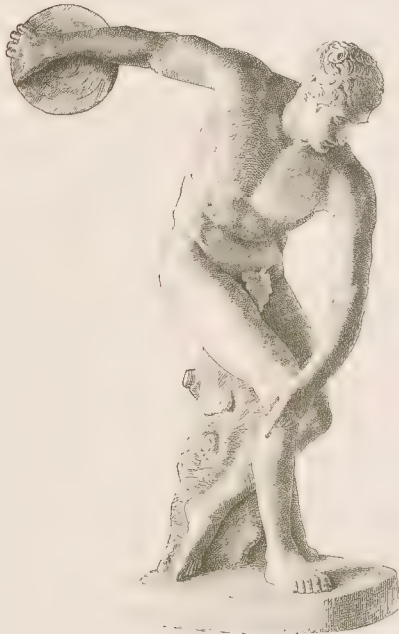


APoxyOMENOS
Athlete scraping off the oil and dust. In the Vatican.

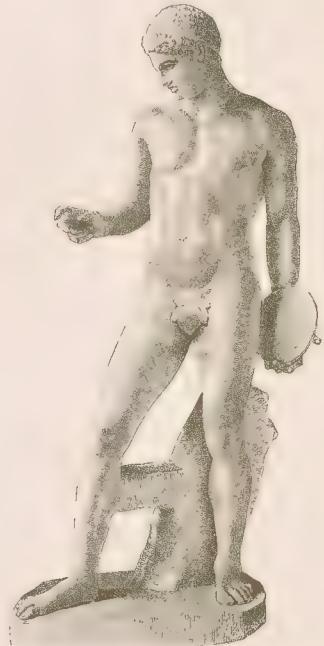
ing, throwing the javelin, casting the diskos and wrestling, which combined made up the *pentathlon*, or five-fold contest of the great games, were the principal. The race was the first and the favourite of all, and the Greeks carried it to an astonishing perfection. The course was very deep sand, where the foot took no firm hold; and the runners were naked. Sometimes they were armed; at first in complete armour, then with shield and helm alone. Leaping, both the high and the distant leap, was practised by the spring of the muscles alone, though sometimes weights (*halteres*) were held in the hands and swung to give an impetus to the leap. The javelin was light and

GREECE.

These five exercises combined, as has been stated, formed the pentathlon. Equal expertness in all five was aimed at, for only thus did gymnastics equally develop the whole body, and produce the desired combination of beauty with efficiency. The exclusive devotion to a single exercise led to easier victories, but it also produced athleticism, which the intelligent Greeks contemned. Of the thousand badnesses in Greece, says Euripides, the worst is the athlete. This athleticism had its hero in Herakles, the colossal form shown in the



DISKOBOLUS CASTING.
In the Palazzo Massimo, Rome.



DISKOBOLUS RESTING.
In the Vatican.

Farnese Hercules; while gymnastics chose for a model the slender and active Hermes. Athleticism made gymnastics a calling, a trade; it gave the body an abnormal, ponderous, and ungracious massiveness, dulled and brutalized the mind, and rendered the athlete unfit for war, as his heavy, overloaded body could not endure hardships, long toil, hunger and thirst. The athletes, therefore, avoided the more refined gymnastics, and preferred the coarse boxing-matches, which the Spartans did not tolerate. They wound hard thongs around their arms and hands to make the blows more severe; and joined wrestling with the boxing, the two combined being called the *pancratium*. In this way they might gain victories, and enjoy the applause of the spectators, but as a class they were despised, especially in old age, when

LIFE OF LEISURE—GYMNASTICS AND GAMES.

they went about, deformed relics of humanity, with crushed ears, and not seldom with crippled limbs.

If gymnastics were universal in Greece, so also was the interest in the gymnastic contests. These were really national affairs, at which every man of Hellenic race had a right to be present. All who had acquired a mastery were ambitious to display their powers and gain



FARNESE HERCULES
In the Naples Museum.



HERMES.
In the Vatican.

recognition and renown. Occasions were abundant, for every city had its public games, all connected with some holy place, under the patronage and in the honour of some deity, which gave them religious consecration and significance. But numerous as these games were, four alone rose to the importance of great national festivals. These were the Nemean, at Nemea, in Arkadia; the Isthmian, established by Corinth upon the Isthmus; the Pythian, at Delphi;

GREECE.

and the Olympic. The kind and order of the contests were essentially the same in all ; but the Pythian, being consecrated to Apollo, the god of the Muses, had the peculiar feature of introducing contests of poetry and music.

Of these four, by far the most important and the most renowned were the Olympic, which were celebrated every fourth year at Olympia in Elis. Their origin runs back to legendary times ; but their fame and importance dates from the period when the Spartans obtained the hegemony in the Peloponnesos. After the year 776 B. C., the names of the victors were publicly recorded ; and from this year begins the Greek reckoning of time by Olympiads ; an evidence of the importance universally attached to these games. The victor at Olympia received as his reward only a wreath from the boughs of the sacred olive ; but his fame extended through all Hellas to her farthest colonies ; and his entry into his native city had the glory of a triumph. The Eleans were the guardians and for no man might dwell on the consecrated ground, except the priests, the servants, and the watchmen.

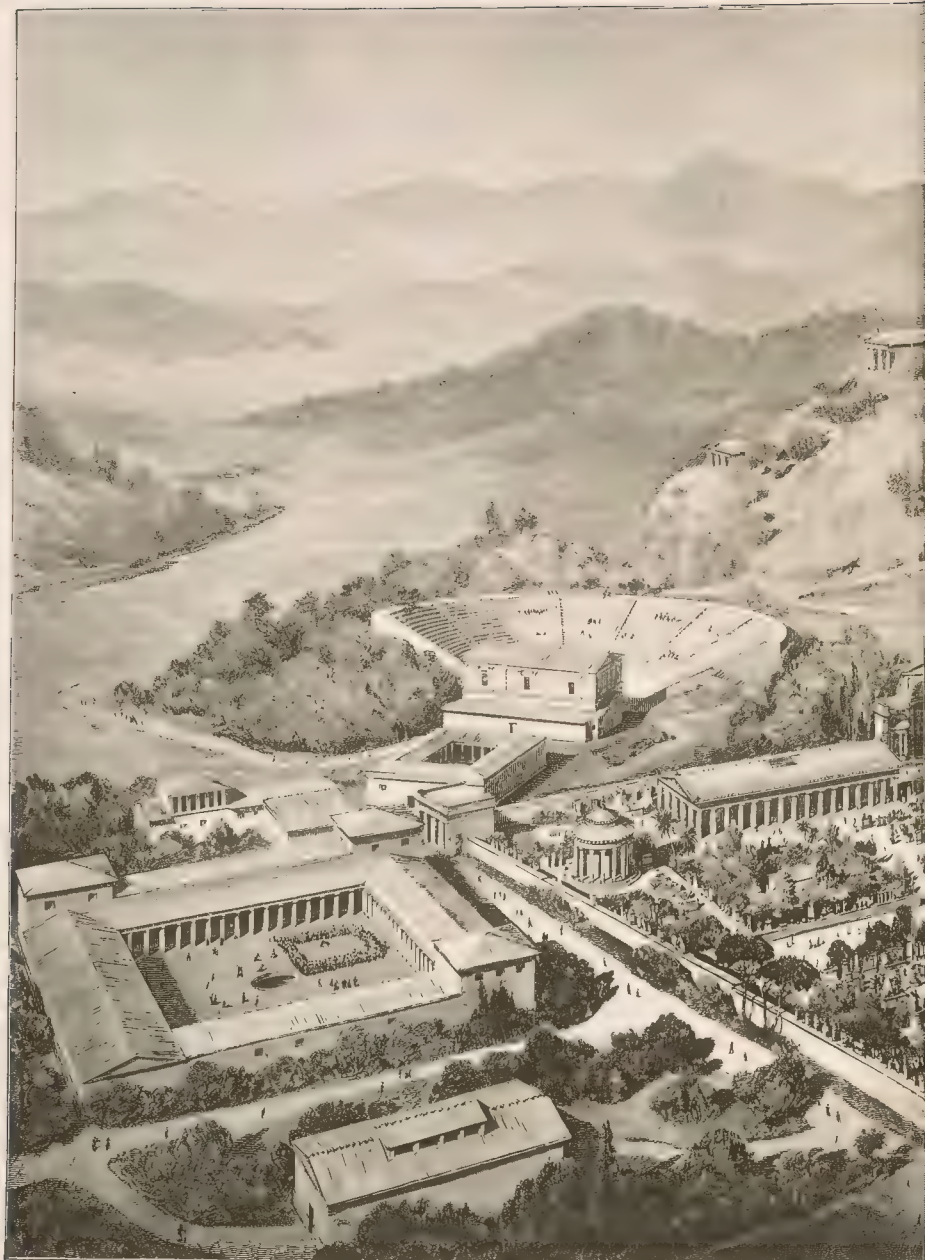


NIKE OF PAIONIOS.
From Olympia.

orderers of this festival, and from them were chosen the officers and judges, the Hellanodikai. As the time drew near, they proclaimed a general sacred peace ; war and strife must pause ; and all roads leading to Olympia became holy and inviolable. All the states sent embassies, who appeared in the utmost possible splendour. The multitude of spectators could not be accommodated in Olympia nor the surrounding villages ; so buildings were erected, huts built, tents pitched, traders of all kinds gathered, and thus suddenly arose a city full of busy life, which vanished as soon as the games were over,

Where the Alpheios, the chief river of Arkadia, issues forth from the mountains, to wind its course through the plain of Elis to the sea, stood the temple of the chief of the gods, at some distance from the right bank of the stream ; and from it stretched down to the sea, and along the shore, the walled and sacred grove of the Altis, the place of festivals and shrines, of statues and dedicated gifts, of treasures and countless monuments and figures commemorating the victors. The temple of Zeus, in whose honour the games were celebrated, rose high above all. This was the work of the Elean architect Libon, and was completed about the time of the Peloponnesian war, and then adorned by Pheidias, his pupils, and many other eminent artists, with marble statuary and figures. The great master himself wrought in the inner shrine that wondrous work of Greek sculpture, the colossal figure of the Olympian





Vale of the Kladeos.

Theatre

Arkadian mountains with Olympian Hill.

Gymnasium.

Philippeion.
(Circular temple of Philip of Macedon.)

Heraion

Esedra of

OLYMPIA

Drawn from nature and finished



and Erymanthos.
 of Kronos
 Herodes Attikos.
 Inclosed grove of the Albia.
 The thirteen small treasuries
 Metroön. (Temple of the mother of the Gods.)
 Temple of Zeus

Stadion.
 Stoa Poikile.
 Gate of processions.

Valley of the Alpheios.

LIFE OF LEISURE—GYMNASTICS AND GAMES.

Zeus, which he adorned with gold and ivory. At the feet of this statue the victors received their crowns.

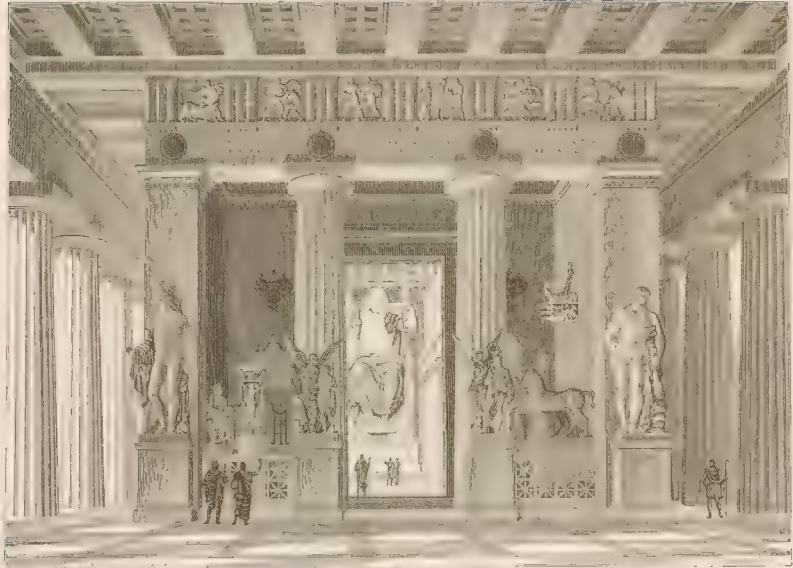
Beneath the Altis lay the stadion, or race-course, six hundred feet long, in which the foot-races took place, with rows of seats arranged like an amphitheatre for the spectators ; and



HERMES OF PRAXITELES.
From Olympia.

below this the hippodrome or long course for the chariot-races, and races for horseback. The contests lasted five days, for in the course of time great variety had been introduced in them, and they comprised all the exercises of the gymnasia. To the original racing had been added the pantathlon and pankration, separate contests of boys in both running and wrestling, and then, most distinguished of all, and the favourite with the rich nobles, the chariot-race, in which, however, the owner of the horses was not obliged to be himself the charioteer. Every evening, at the close of the contests, the victors were crowned ; and joyful feasting and carousing kept up all night. Poets praised the conqueror in

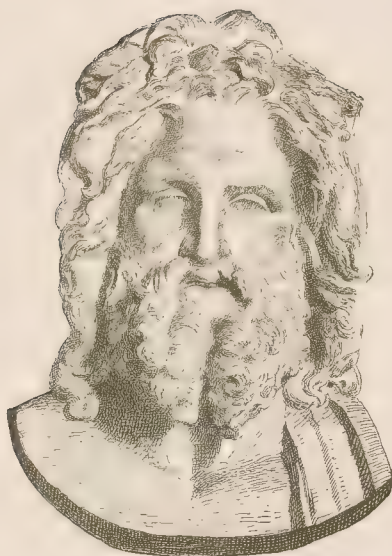
GREECE.



INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS IN OLYMPIA
In the background the colossal statue of the god. Restoration.

inspired hymns, and he who had the fortune to be sung by Pindar was sure of immortality. He who had won three victories might place his statue in the Altis; and in this way thousands of statues peopled the sacred grove.

The Olympic games long survived Greek liberty. Even under the Romans they continued undisturbed, until Christianity—the Christianity of the Emperors—put an end to them, chiefly on account of its hatred for heathen nakedness. In the year 394 A. D., the Olympic games were forever abolished, but even before this, groves, temples, and treasures had been despoiled of many of their works of art, and the colossal statue of Pheidias had been carried to Constantinople. But the temple of Zeus still stood until burned by barbarians, after which an earthquake threw down and shattered what was left. Then the Alpheios burst through its neglected dykes and buried the ruins and relics beneath its mud and sand. And so for more than a thousand years they lay entombed, until—thanks to the exertions of Ernst Curtius—German enterprise and unselfish zeal for knowledge disinterred them from the earth that had covered them so long. And even if what has been recovered does not come up to the glowing anticipations that had been formed, still much has been gained for knowledge, and a recent discovery in the Sanctuary of Hera the statue of Hermes, with the infant Bacchos on his arm, which, from Pausanias' account, seems to be the work of Praxiteles, and certainly exhibits a style and grace worthy of that master—gives hope that art also will not fail to be a gainer by this undertaking.



ZEUS
Bust in the Vatican.

8.

RELIGIOUS LIFE.



ELESTIALS are prone to all the sins of mortals, if we trust the stories of the Greek poets. We are shown the amorous Zeus, in various unworthy disguises, pursuing the fair daughters of men ; we see his haughty spouse, the jealous Hera, publicly chiding and rebuking him for his infidelities ; her lame and ungainly son, Hephaistos, mocked and laughed at by all ; Aphrodite, fair and false ; Hermes, the crafty and deceitful ; the revengeful Poseidon ; the drunken Dionysos ; the heavy and voracious Herakles—a fair company indeed to dwell on the heights of Olympos ! What wonder that when a sinful mortal cries out :

“——. What wickedness is mine !”

GREECE.

another is ready to answer :

" On Zeus cast all the fault :
He too has known the pains of love, and owned the might of beauty."

And when we see in what fashion even old Homer speaks of the Olympians, and relates their adventures, in rather a tone of irony or good-humoured banter than as if he believed them ; and how at a later day Aristophanes brings his gods on the stage in the most grotesque forms and in the most ludicrous burlesque scenes, for the laughter of the Athenian public, we naturally fancy that this whole people was saturated with frivolity, and an unbelieving generation altogether.

Yet the very contrary is the truth. These myths, which arose at a very early and rude age, are mere legends, fantastic tales, about which, in historical times, there is no question of belief or unbelief. Behind these legends stand the gods in full divinity, honoured and worshipped by the state as well as the individual. The gods to whom the Greek prayed were protectors of the good, penetrated with piety.

As Greek art selected in preference religious subjects, erected to the gods the fairest and stateliest buildings, as the state persecuted, banished, or put to death every one whose teachings or life seemed dangerous to the religion of the country, so the individual honoured the gods in all his actions. From the cradle to the tomb, every event of his life had religious consecration. Naming a child was a religious ceremony, so a contract of marriage, a wedding, and the funeral rites. On every occasion the Greek remembered his gods with prayers and offerings ; and never did he begin a religious act or tread a consecrated place without symbolical purification of the soul by ablution with water.



YOUTH PRAYING.
Bronze statue in the Berlin museum.

avengers of evil, and guardians of the moral law. They rewarded virtue and punished crime, even though the punishment might tarry long, and the Eumenides delay their retribution. These gods demanded a pure heart and holiness of mind in every one who approached them with thanks or prayers. This was the faith of the people, and none the less was it the faith of sages like Sokrates and Plato, who, while they sought to fathom the mysteries of the universe, did not renounce the worship of the gods, nor the ties which bound mankind to divinity. Sokrates himself consulted the oracle, and prayed to the gods for a beautiful soul.

Greek life is

RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The Greek needed a priest neither for offering nor for prayer; for every religious duty he could perform in person, and was himself a priest at his domestic altar. He prayed standing; to the gods above, with hands lifted and expanded; to those of the sea he held them stretched out before him; and lowered them when he invoked the powers of the underworld. At an offering every celebrant had his head crowned, as a mark of reverence. Offerings were both bloody and bloodless; the latter consisting of the fruits of the earth, such as parched barley, which was cast into the altar-fire, fruit, wine, milk, oil, honey and cakes. For bloody offerings, certain animals were especially offered to certain gods, the finest and those most free from blemish being selected; they were sacrificed either singly or in large numbers, as, for instance, the hecatomb, or sacrifice of a hundred victims at once. The whole animal was not burned, only certain portions, the rest furnishing a feast for the celebrants, who thus to a certain degree were guests at the table of the god. The ritual of sacrifice, upon the exact observance of which the Greeks laid great stress, had become fixed as early as Homer's time. Nestor caused the horns of the bullock he was about to offer, to be gilt; but usually a wreath was sufficient decoration. He purifies with consecrated water himself and those participating; then prays to Athene, for whom the sacrifice is intended, and cuts from the forehead of the victim a tuft of hair, which he casts into the fire. When the neck of the animal has been sprinkled with consecrated barley, it is slain and flayed; the thighs are cut out, enveloped in fat, and burned with certain other portions, wine being sprinkled over the whole. After this, the flesh is cut up, roasted on spits, and eaten by those assembled.

Every free man could perform all these rites, and thus communicate immediately with the gods. Yet, for certain parts of the religious system, priests were indispensable. Every god had his holy places, his temple and inclosure, and his established cultus. For the regular care and service of these temples, officials were appointed, instructed in all the ceremonies and traditions, and these were the priests of the god. This knowledge and these services were hereditary in certain families; but the priestly office did not exclude them from public life; they could participate in all the business of the state, and enjoy any honours or offices, and they made full use of these rights. Thus, no priestly caste, no hierarchy arose; but the priest was a citizen, like any other.

These priests enjoyed, however, personally a certain respect and distinction; and the more venerated the god whom they served, the greater was their influence as his servants. These priestly families had come with the gods and dwelt with them, and, as their house-mates, united with them in diffusing culture and morality. They knew the ancient unwritten laws and customs, and applied them chiefly in a conservative direction. They were, in part, the sustainers of the national idea; for many of the holy places had far more than local importance and were places of resort and consequence for the whole Greek world. Especially was this the case with the oracles of Apollo, and, above all, that at Delphi.

The prophetic art was originally not a peculiar property of the priesthood: and here also at first the priest stood on the footing of any other man. To the heart of any one the voice of the divinity might breathe forewarnings of the future; these he might receive, and guide his actions accordingly. As the divinities filled the whole circuit of nature, they might give intimations of their will, or of coming events, through signs, whose significance was understood by all. The Greek had a strong, almost a superstitious faith, in these signs and tokens; but he had never wrought them and their interpretation, the flight of birds, the entrails of victims, and all the rest, into a regular system, as did the Romans; nor made it a science whose knowledge was confined to a privileged few.

GREECE.

Otherwise was it with the oracles, which were attached to particular gods and particular places of worship; their answers were given only through the lips of the priests, who also propounded the inquiries. This was the case at the most ancient oracle of all, that of the Pelasgic Zeus at Dodona in Epeiros, where the answer, delivered in the rustling of the sacred oaks, or in the murmur of the fountain, was unintelligible to the profane; and so also at Delphi, at the sanctuary of Apollo, the deity of prophecy; an oracle which in historical times was far more renowned than that of Dodona, and attained even national importance.



THE RAVINE OF DELPHI.

A wild, savage spot it was that the god had chosen for his abode; a ravine at the foot of the great Parnassos, a chasm with vertical walls, solitary, terrible, but enlivened by the murmur of a gurgling brook. Yet from this gloomy spot the god radiated light, made Parnassos the abode of the Muses, and the fountain Kastalia the source of inspiration for poets. In this spot it was that Apollo had slain Python, the dragon, in other words, that the god of light had overcome the night of barbarism. Here, from a cleft in the ground, ascended a vapour which intoxicated the senses and confused the mind. This was the source of the oracle, for by means of its influence the god spoke. Over this cleft a temple was built, a class of priests settled about it, and from this settlement grew a city, the sacred Delphi. Its fame spread over Hellas, and far beyond the confines of Greece; from all lands came visitors and inquirers; cities, states, and kings sent thither splendid and often numerous embassies. Whoever approached the god came laden with gifts; and in this way Delphi was filled with treasures, not only of gold and silver, but of all rare and precious things, and among the rest the choicest works of sculpture and painting.



VIEW FROM DELPHI OVER THE PLAIN OF KRISIA

RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The god spoke through the lips of a woman. He knew, and availed himself of female susceptibility and enthusiasm; and in choosing a woman as his priestess and the mouthpiece of his revelations, he honoured in her the whole sex. As the inspired prophetess *Kassandra* had served at his *Thymbrian* shrine in the *Troad*, so at *Delphi* it was the *Pythia*, always chosen from the women of that city, who had to deliver the answer of the god. Once a month the *Pythia*, crowned with laurel, having purified herself by long fasting, having bathed, drunk from the sacred spring, and chewed laurel leaves, took her seat upon the tripod which stood over the fissure whence the vapour arose. Predisposed thus to nervous excitement, the intoxicating fumes soon clouded her senses, disturbed her reason, and threw her into convulsions, and in this state she uttered meaningless sounds and words from which the attendant priests interpreted or fabricated



RUINS OF DELPHI.

the answer of the god. The form, and doubtless often the sense also, was their work. For a long time the answers were given in hexameters, but later, in prose.

A pious fraud, if you choose—though it is by no means impossible that the credulous priests really thought they detected words and meaning in the sounds uttered by the *Pythia*—but if it was a fraud it was a shrewd one, and was founded on an accurate knowledge of men and things. These priests, in their close relations to the whole Greek world, knew better than any other the affairs of the cities and states; they knew the leading men, the parties and their aims, and kept a watchful eye on all. When parties or individuals came to consult the oracle, the priests knew beforehand what was to be said; or, if not, they had time enough before the *Pythia* ascended the tripod, to draw from the visitors in conversation all the hints they needed. Applications of this sort, for counsel, or decision, or for the favour of the god, were the most common. But few were inquiries into the future; and in the latter case the priests frequently took refuge in ambiguity, like the answer given to *Kroisos*, that if he crossed the *Halys* he would destroy a great kingdom; or that to the Athenians in the Persian war, that they should

GREECE.

shelter themselves behind wooden walls. But as skepticism increased, this dark enigmatical wisdom, clothed in obsolete words and singular phrase, often provoked derision ; and to burlesque the oracular style is a favourite trick of the comic poets. Of this Aristophanes gives a grotesque example in his *Knights*, in the squabble between the tanner and leather-seller Kleon, and the Sausage-maker :

Moreover, when the eagle in his pride,
With crooked talons and a leathern hide,
Shall seize the black and blood-devouring snake,
Then shall the woeful tan-pits quail and quake ;
And mighty Zeus shall give command and place
To mortals of the sausage-selling race ;
Unless they choose, continuing as before,
To sell their sausages for evermore.

But despite this mockery and the growth of skepticism, the priests of Delphi were adroit enough to keep the credit of the oracle unimpaired for centuries, and to retain in their own hands great influence in the internal wars and dealings of the Greeks. The plunder of all the treasures by the Phokians did not lessen the prestige of the god, who afterwards defended his sanctuary against the Gauls by means of a furious storm. But before the victorious and dominant might of Christianity Apollo abandoned his temple ; and when the Pythia no longer ascended the tripod, Delphi fell into decay, and the region became once more a wilderness.

As in divinations and oracles, so the Greeks sought in the secret cults, in the mysteries, that consolation and support which their regular worship failed to afford. Here no purer religion, no deeper wisdom, was inculcated ; no solution given to the mystery of life beyond the grave ; though it is true that in this respect a better and surer hope was held out to the initiated. It was offered to those whose hearts were pure, and who were conscious of an innocent life, and only such were admitted to participation in the mysteries. In this way the mysteries, without concealing any peculiar lore, exercised an influence that was morally beneficent, and even sanctifying. He who presented himself for admission must prove his freedom from guilt, and must thenceforth lead a life unstained. Every person of Greek race had the right of appearing as a candidate for initiation ; neither age nor sex was a disqualification, and both women and children were admitted ; indeed the women had certain secret rites, the Thesmophoria, which were peculiarly their own.

There were three degrees which the candidates—called *mystai*—usually passed, after they had been introduced by the *mystagogos*, an initiate of the highest degree, and each had to be prepared for by purifications and atonements. The ceremonial was splendid and impressive, the rites being conducted by the *hierophant*, the chief priest and celebrant, with his assistants. In the highest degree, the initiated, then turned *epoptai*, or “beholders,” were shown certain religious myths exhibited in dramatic form, in which were symbolically veiled certain doctrines relating to the life beyond the grave. In other respects these myths differed little, if at all, from those of popular belief.

Mysteries were celebrated at various places in Greece : but the most renowned were those of Samothrake, and those of Eleusis in Attika. At the former, a small island in the Aegæan Sea, there had dwelt from the earliest period of Greek history the cult of the *Kabeiroi*, mighty powers of nature, whose names and character are wrapped in obscurity : and the same is to be said of their service, which was always shrouded in the utmost secrecy. Better known are the Eleusinian mysteries, in which so large a portion of the inhabitants of Athens and



INNER PROPYLAEA IN ELEUSIS.

In the foreground to the right the outer Propylaea. In the background the temple of the mysteries. (Restoration.)

Attika participated, that they almost seem to be an integral part of the Athenian public polity. Ancient and primitive as the others, these survived them all and lasted down to Christian times. Here too the powers of nature were worshipped; Demeter, the mother-earth, the goddess of agriculture, and the closely allied Dionysos, god of wine. It was in Eleusis, four hours' journey eastward of Athens, that Demeter, after a long and vain search over sea and land, learned that her lost daughter Persephone had become the spouse of Hades and queen of the underworld; and here was she given back to life and joy. This is the myth which was represented in the Eleusinia: the abduction to the underworld, the recovery and the return for half an year, symbolise the perishing of the life of nature in autumn and winter, and the planting of the seed-corn and its resurrection and ripening to golden fruit in spring and summer; and this resurrection was used to give hope of a life after death.

The feast of the great Eleusinia,—for there were also the lesser Eleusinia, a kind of preliminary celebration,—lasted twelve days, and occurred in August or September, when the harvests had been garnered. It was a popular festival to which strangers flocked from all quarters, and sought the hospitality of the Athenians. When it was proclaimed, there was a general religious peace. The candidates and initiates prepared themselves by fasting, atonement, offerings, and purification with sea-water, on the strand. The first days were occupied with sacrifices to Demeter, Dionysos, and other gods, then with sacrificial banquets and processions, all having a character of solemn preparation. On the sixth day was the great procession, in which the ancient statue of Dionysos, wreathed with garlands and a torch in its hand, was brought from Athens to Eleusis. A countless multitude of people, initiated and uninitiated, all wearing garlands, took part in this procession, and mummeries of all sorts, jesting and antics, laughter and clamour, dancing and music, accompanied it. Starting towards evening from the Eleusinion in Athens, the march proceeded for four hours along the "Sacred Road," and reached Eleusis after dark. Here the throng entered the court of a large building, erected in the time of Perikles for the celebration of the mysteries proper, and consisting of a columned hall surrounded with a wall, and roomy enough to contain a large assembly. The representations then began. The gloom of the night, the flickering and uncertain light of the torches, increased the feeling of awe which the whole mysterious aspect, following after the excitement of the march, was well fitted to produce. These representations were continued for several nights. The recovered Persephone had been welcomed with joy; so joy, hilarity and banquets now succeeded to the fasts, the offerings, and the solemn nocturnal rites; and thus ended the Eleusinia.

Dionysos here plays a secondary part to that of Demeter; but in many places in Greece, and especially in Attika, he had his peculiar feasts, which, though less solemn, it is true, claimed a still more general participation, and were celebrated with more intoxicating excitement. For it was Dionysos who in the vine had bestowed upon man the gift that brings joy, dispels care, and makes him forget his misery. The ever young and jocund god with the soft features and effeminate form, with the languishing look and careless attitude, coming from India had traversed the earth as a conqueror, everywhere spreading the culture of the vine, conquering his foes, and filling his friends with joyous inspiration. Tigers, lions, panthers, tame and submissive, followed his steps or drew his chariot; goat-footed Pans and Satyrs, tailed Silenoi, leaped and sported around; women left the spindle and loom, left house and family, husband and children, and joined in the maddening dance; Mainads and Bacchantes, crowned with vine-leaves, swinging the thyrsos wound with ivy and headed with a pine-cone, the fawn-skin wrapped about their bodies, thronged around the car, singing dithyrambs; while

GREECE.

the wild music of cymbals and tambourines, bells and castanets, flutes and pipes, rose above the clamour of the frantic throng. Thus the god came to Greece, beneficent and wonder-working, exciting and inspiring, but terrible and cruel to his foes, and to those who opposed the introduction of his rites.

Something of this character, as was natural, marked the Dionysiac festivals everywhere. In Boiotia, indeed, this cult acquired the orgiastic and frantic character of the Thrakian and Phrygian worship, which elsewhere in Greece was not approved. Women and girls celebrated a feast of Bacchos continuing several nights, upon Mount Parnassos, every second year. Here, released from the restraint imposed upon them by custom, they indulged in excesses that bordered on frenzy. Mainad-like, dressed in deer-skins, with floating hair, and brandishing the thyrsos, they roamed about the mountains, shouting and dancing wildly, and offering sacrifices,

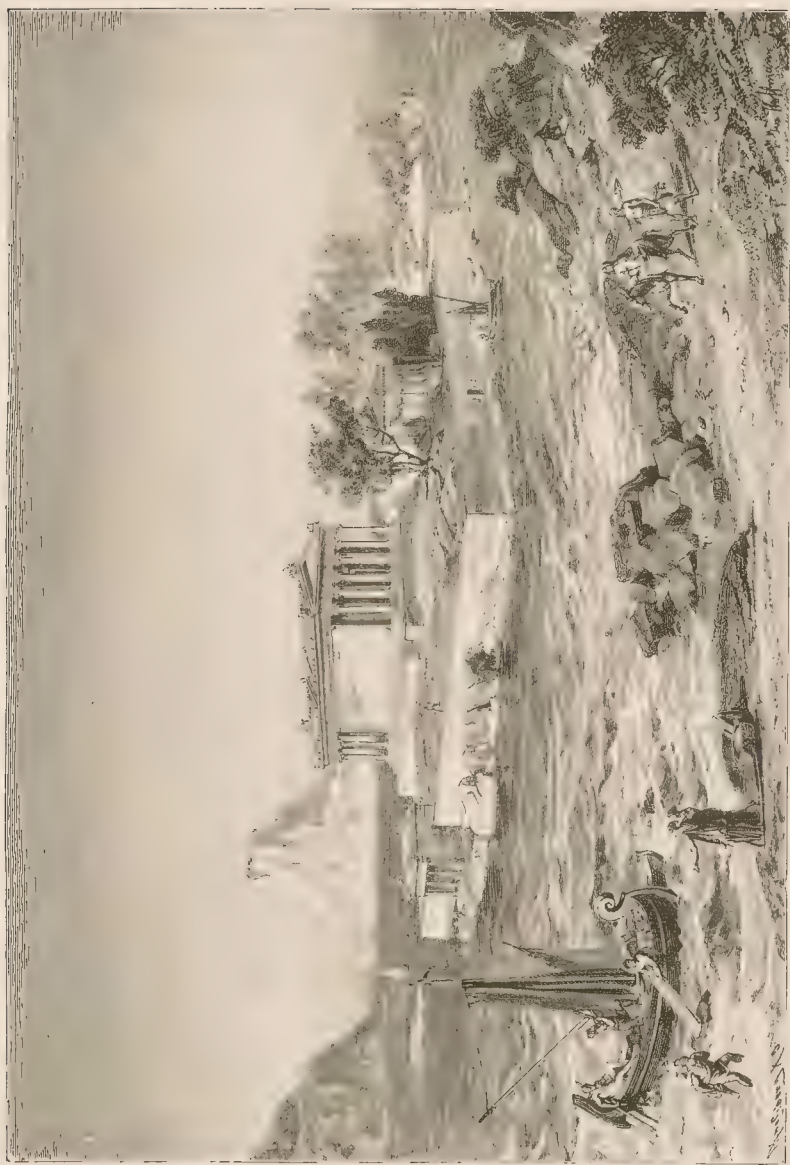


BACCHANATS
Borghese vase in the Louvre.

in which, as the mother of Pentheus and her companions, deluded by the god, tore to pieces her son, they rent the victim to fragments and devoured the raw flesh.

No such mad conduct as this was seen at the Attic Dionysia, although mirth and even drunkenness were common enough. At the greater Dionysia, for there were several festivals bearing that name, any one might be drunk without discredit, and indeed it was almost regarded as a duty. The new wine fairly flowed in the streets, and was offered everywhere. Every one went garlanded with ivy, roses and violets, for the feast was held in the blossom-time of the spring. All streets and squares were full of mirth and gaiety; jugglers, puppet-players, and mountebanks from far and near, were performing in the open air; figures of Bacchos were carried in procession, and in their train followed all the divine and half-divine crew of Pans and Satyrs, Bacchantes and Mainads, grotesquely represented by Athenians in disguise. On these days, too, the love of the Athenians for spectacles of every kind was most conspicuous. As Thespis, with his cart of actors, had given, like other itinerant performers, his representations at the feast of Dionysos, it became an established custom to bring out the new tragedies and comedies at this festival.

So here, in company with Dionysos, Melpomene and Thaleia, the tragic and the comic muse, also made their appearance; pathos and wit by the side of frolic and excess. Nor did the other



SPHAIRIA,
Or the Holy Island, with the temple of Athene Apaturia. (Restoration.)

RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Muses lack their share in appropriate celebrations any more than they lacked their share in Athenian culture. Though they had not an especial festival, yet they had a part in the Panathenaia, that great local feast of the Athenians, which was to Attika what the Olympic games were to all Greece. It was a feast in honour of Pallas Athene, the guardian goddess of the state, Athene Polias, the virgin protectress of Athens, whose colossal statue by the hand of Pheidias, and whose great and renowned temple, the Parthenon, looked from the lofty Akropolis over the whole land. Every fourth year this feast was held with great pomp and splendour. Guests came in throngs to the metropolis, always attractive to strangers; poets and musicians came to contend in their arts; racers and wrestlers, throwers of the javelin and the disks, horsemen and charioteers, strove for the prize of an ornamented terra-cotta vase filled with oil, both products of the land.

But the crowning event of the feast was that when the people, decked in holiday guise, assembled to bear in solemn procession to the goddess the rich embroidered *peplos* which the



ATHENIAN WOMEN AT THE FEAST OF THE PANATHENAIA.
Bas-relief of Pheidias from the Parthenon.

matrons and virgins of Attika had wrought for her ancient statue. The company assembled without the gate, and was there marshalled for the march. First came the citharists and flute-players, then the citizens in arms, the foot-soldiers in front, and behind these the horsemen, the flower of the Athenian youth. Next followed the victors in the contests, those in the horse and chariot-races with their victorious steeds and chariots, and behind them the priests and their acolytes, the latter leading the beasts destined for sacrifice. A select company of stately old men followed, carrying olive-boughs, plucked from the sacred tree in the Akademia; then youths bearing the votive gifts, costly works of Athenian art to be dedicated to the goddess. Women and young maidens, chosen for their beauty, formed the next division, some bearing on their heads baskets with the apparatus for the sacrifices, others pitchers in their hands, and others unburthened; but all in their choicest attire, with heads crowned with wreaths. Women and girls of the *metoikoi* bore chairs and parasols behind them. The embroidered robe of the goddess, expanded like a sail, was borne on a car in the midst of the procession. Thus the march moved through the fairest streets of the city, halting at the principal altars to make offerings, slowly ascended the citadel, and when at the summit and before the temple of the

GREECE.

goddess, amidst a burst of choral melody from the whole throng, the victims were offered and the gifts deposited in the shrine. Almost all this we can see at this day, for Pheidias himself has represented all the features of the celebration in the frieze of the Parthenon, and a happy fate has spared for us the greater part of this, one of the noblest and most perfect creations of Greek genius.

In all the Greek festivals that we have described—and the remark holds true for the numerous others that we have passed over—the conception of life appears in two aspects. One is that of happy enjoyment, the endeavour to pass this existence, as far as possible, in cheerfulness and hilarity; and the other in the oppressive sense of a worse and terrible something beyond; a feeling of which men strove to free themselves by the initiation into the mysteries. The assured belief of a better existence after death, the life of the virtuous in companionship with the gods, and with ever-advancing perfection, was only the possession of a few, such as

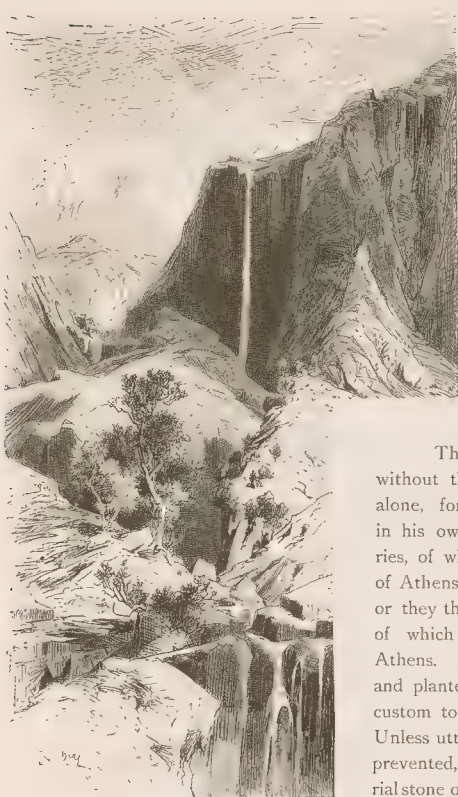


SACRIFICIAL VICTIMS IN THE PANATHENAIC PROCESSION.
From the frieze of the Parthenon.

the Pythagoreans. Others, and among them the best of the land, denied the immortality of the soul, or at least opposed anxious doubts to proofs such as Sokrates, just before death, gives to his disciples and friends in the *Phaidon*. But, for the mass, death had lost none of its terrors; they held fast to the Homeric doctrine of the dreary existence beyond the Styx in the gloomy realm of shades, of the aimless wandering of the souls on the banks of the black river when the dead had not received the last rites from the living.

With anxious piety and conscientiousness, therefore, did kindred and friends perform all offices which law and religion prescribed as due to the dead. To leave a corpse unburied brought punishment, not only in this world, but in the other. It was the duty of even a passing wayfarer, should he chance to meet an unburied corse, to cast at least a few handfuls of earth upon it, which sufficed to give the wandering soul repose, and secure its entrance into the world of spirits. Only the most ferocious hatred would mutilate or insult the dead, or leave them as a prey to beasts and birds; and even war paused to allow the burial of the slain. The grave and its contents were held forever inviolable.

As soon as the eyes had closed in the last sleep, the obolos, the ferriage-fee, was placed in the mouth of the dead, that the soul might have no delay in crossing the Styx in Charon's



SOURCE OF THE STYX.

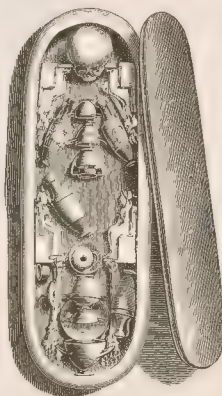
representing the deceased and some of his family, or a slab bearing a simple inscription. This inscription gave his name, something about his life, and often some epigrammatic saying. Many of these epitaphs have been preserved, such as the following:

I wept Theonoe's loss, but one fair child
 Its father's heart of half its woe beguiled;
 And now, sole source of hope and solace left,
 That one fair child the envious Fates have reft.
 Death, hear a father's prayer, and lay to rest
 My little one on its lost mother's breast.

Tender, natural, and simple as is this epitaph, and

boat. The corpse was washed, perfumed, clad in white apparel, crowned with flowers, and laid upon a bier, to be visited by friends and kindred, all dressed in mourning, on the day after the death. On the following morning, usually, the last rites took place, in which the corpse was either burned, and the ashes preserved in an urn, or simply buried. Both modes were in use among the Greeks, but it would seem that in the earlier times incineration was more common, and in the later, burial, which latter, indeed, became universal, after the prevalence of Christianity.

The places of interment were usually without the city walls. The graves often stood alone, for instance when the dead was buried in his own land; but there were also cemeteries, of which there were several in the vicinity of Athens. Many graves were by the roadsides; or they themselves formed avenues of tombs, one of which has been recently discovered near Athens. A mound was heaped above the grave, and planted with roses and ivy; and it was the custom to pour upon it libations of wine and milk. Unless utter poverty prevented, a memorial stone of some sort was erected above it; either a monument, or a relief representing



CONTENTS OF AN OPENED TOMB.

GREECE.

many like it, so simple, so touching, so tender are the representations on the monuments. No skeleton, no scythe, no hour-glass is there to bring a shudder to the beholders. As they were in life, mother and daughter, husband and wife, parents and children, here



STREET OF TOMBS IN ATHENS.
(Restoration.)

they are represented together, sitting or standing, clasping each other's hands, and looking at each other with love and sympathy as if in their customary affectionate intercourse. What the stone perpetuates is the love and happiness which they enjoyed together while yet they rejoiced in life and the light of day.

And love has adorned these tombs within, as well as without. In them the survivors

RELIGIOUS LIFE.

placed whatever they had of most precious and dear, possibly in the thought that they might be of some service to the dead ; at least as a symbol of their belief in the continuance of life, the same life or another, beyond the grave. The personal ornaments of the departed were laid in the tomb ; household utensils and vessels were placed there ; phials of odours and jars of unguents such as they had used in life ; vessels for fruit, oil, and wine, and drinking-cups with them, strange funereal cups, the slender *lekythoi*, adorned with appropriate figures ; cakes also



BAS-RELIEF ON A GREEK TOMB.
Museum of the Louvre.

were deposited, and beverages, often symbolic only, of clay or stone. The companions and accompaniments of life were not wanting ; children had their dolls and toys, and older persons their friends, of course symbolised in small figures of clay, copied from the life. In this way the charming figures of Tanagra, found in graves, are naturally and satisfactorily accounted for.

All these were to be of service to the dead when he entered into a new life. And the Greeks have risen again from the tomb, but otherwise than as they thought and expected. From these graves, as they have been discovered and opened, Greek life has arisen for us, to enlarge

GREECE.

our knowledge and inspire our art. To these objects, deposited with the dead in the tomb we owe not only an intimate acquaintance with that life, but also an innumerable multitude of types of beauty whose value and influence will no more perish than will the works of a Homer or a Pheidias, or a Plato.



FUNERAL CUPS, OR LEKYTHOI.



ORNAMENTS DISCOVERED BY SCHLIEMANN AT TROY.

BOOK III.

ART AND LITERATURE.

1.

EPOCHS OF ART.



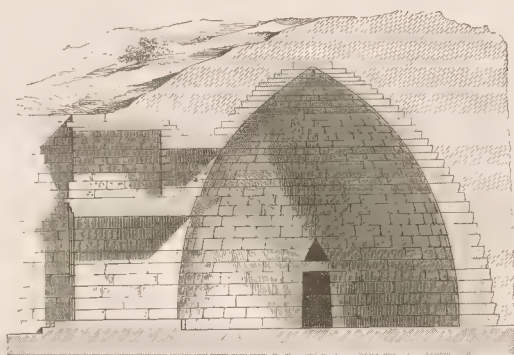
ART also in Greece had its heroic age, a period of enigmas and wonders, separated by a chasm of centuries of darkness from the period of authentic history. No bridge seems to join the two, and in vain does science try to establish a connexion. When the Greek, first aroused to self-consciousness, began to inquire into his past, and write his own history, the Doric temple already stood, perfect and complete in its Hellenic character, while the works of the heroic period lay uncomprehended in mysterious ruin, or lost and forgotten in the depths of the earth.

To us, however, they have still a tale to tell. Partly remaining in the same condition in which they existed in the flowering-time of Greek history, and partly but just disinterred from their tomb, they prove to us that in Hellas,

GREECE.

during the legendary age, or at a date still more remote, there existed a culture which perished utterly in the convulsions of the heroic period. The reservoirs at Orchomenos in Boiotia, the massive walls of Tiryns, called Cyclopean, because men supposed them to have been the work of giants; the reticulated and substantial construction of the walls of Mykenai; the so-called treasuries, more properly monuments, among which that of Atreus is the most celebrated; the Gate of Lions at Mykenai, and many similar structures, bear evidence of long labour and skilled craft, as well as of mighty rulers who wielded absolute sway over the energy and industry of their subjects. But they show more than this; they exhibit advanced technical skill, and even a certain artistic style. It is true that the masonry of those Cyclopean walls is of a primitive kind, as are also the sculpture of the lions over the gate of Agamemnon's citadel, and the cupola of the treasury, in which an arch-construction is obtained by means of circular layers of stone successively narrowing; but the lining of these

walls is no longer primitive. They were formerly covered with plates of bronze, as has been clearly shown; and in all probability the ornamental portions of the exterior were similarly decorated. This bronze-plating, which we also find described in the Homeric poems in the palace of Menelaos, and in great splendour in that of Alkinoös, must have been a widely-spread style of architectural decoration, wherever the resources of



SO-CALLED TREASURY OF ATREUS.
Vertical section.

princes permitted its use; and it undoubtedly had its origin in Asia, the home of all the metallurgic arts.

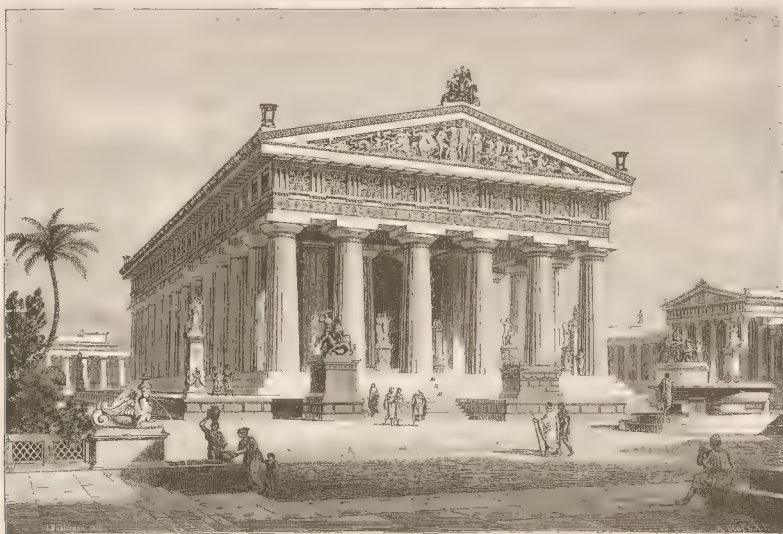
These plates, which lined the inner walls, and apparently also the columns and the impost above, were of the ancient fashion of hammered and rivetted work; and where ornament of more precious metal occurred, it was not inlaid, but encrusted and rivetted upon the ground. Where the ground was convex, the metallic plate was hammered to take the relief of the form, as was afterwards done in decorating the statues. This we learn from the accounts of ancient writers; and we can see it variously exemplified in those specimens of workmanship, especially the ornaments of gold, which Schliemann has brought to light from the royal tombs in the citadel of Mykenai. Here the vessels of gold and silver are composed of rivetted plates, and the ornaments are thin leaves of gold, the form and relieved design of which have been produced by hammering over a proper foundation of less costly metal. Even the masks of gold which covered the faces are explained by reference to this art of metallic plating.

If we next examine the style of these ornaments, and seek to trace the origin of their rosettes, fillets, braidings, etc., we are again led back to Asia, to the home of the Pelopids in Asia Minor, and thence eastward to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. But if we attempt to trace them downwards, or to recognize them in the Greek art so familiar to us,

EPOCHS OF ART.

not the slightest reminiscence of them seems to survive, or at most only such vestiges as point back to the primitive source of both.

To the heroic, and indeed to the Homeric time, succeed dim centuries, in which culture and art, as compared with the accounts in Homer, seem rather declining and perishing than living and developing. Only in the century before the Persian wars does the proper Greek art begin, but after these wars it advances with incredible rapidity to its unsurpassed perfection. Only the *peripteros*, a temple with a complete circuit of columns, stands complete and perfect in the sixth century B. C.; but it has emerged from the darkness as suddenly as if it had no previous history. While the remains of sculpture of this period remind us of a Daedalian and



TEMPLE OF POSEIDON AT PAESTUM.
Restoration.

imperfect art, and the vase-paintings, and what accounts we have of the other painting of that time, exhibit but rude attempts, the Doric columnar temples at Selinus, Agrigentum, Paestum, all belonging to that period, show an art entire and complete, which has never been surpassed, unless in delicacy of proportions and elaboration of details.

But perfect and complete as we find the temple, we may be sure that it did not at once spring into existence in this perfection, either as regards the plan or the architectural style. Even though we lack the previous stages by which to trace its development, its various parts and ornaments, which, though later employed as decorations, were originally component parts of its structure, reveal its history. The nucleus of the temple is the *cella*, which incloses the statue of the divinity. The temple is the house, not of the god, but of the statue, which originally stood in the open air, in the sacred grove. The need for its shelter gave rise to the

GREECE.

four walls, the simple roofed cell. To enlarge the consecrated space, perhaps for the convenience of a festal procession, or some other forgotten need of the cultus, it was found necessary to expand the roof and give it a sheltering projection, which was supported by a range of pillars. We may imagine the origin to have been in this way: first, the long side walls with the gable came forward, and by the aid of a pair of supporting columns, formed a portico.

This is the so-called temple *in antis*, of which so many examples have been preserved. This arrangement was next repeated in the rear, and then extended to the sides. In this way we may suppose the plan to have been worked out; and it is a supposition which seems to rest upon logical grounds; but this is all that can be said; this derivation is very far from certain, and, indeed, is open to grave doubts. It may have been just the other way; that less need of space, or some peculiarity of the site, led from the circuit of columns to the temple *in antis*.

architecture have been perpetuated in the temple; but the original types had long since sunk into oblivion. The Greek temple of later days may well have retained reminiscences of the primeval wooden building, but it did not spring from a wooden temple. Its origin was a structure of stone; and all that had survived of the wooden building, or the later period of metallic plating, had long been transformed into mere decoration.

This, however, does not explain all. Whence come the variety of the columns, the differences of the capitals, of the cornice, and of so many other details? The necessities of the

But even if we admit this derivation, we have not accounted for the architectural and ornamental detail, nor the characteristics of the artistic style. Certain parts of the Greek temple, as the architrave over the columns, the triglyphs above this, representing the ends of transverse beams; the metopes between these, representing the intervals originally left to admit light and air; the columns themselves, and various members of the roof, all point to a primitive structure of wood. We cannot therefore doubt that parts of such a style of



PROPYLAEA AT ATHENS.
Restoration.

structure do not suffice to explain these well-marked peculiarities; nor are they found in Greece until the complete temple makes its appearance. They already existed in Asia, as unowned property, waifs and strays of a primeval civilization, which had perished in those surgings of the peoples which so often rolled across Western Asia from the Tigris to the Hellespont. The fresh and young Greek life of the colonies of Asia Minor took possession of these unclaimed relics; the Hellenic spirit quickly selected and seized what it could use of the scattered elements, and out of them created new, original, genuinely Hellenic, perfectly pure and harmonious artistic forms, to which nothing comparable had ever appeared.

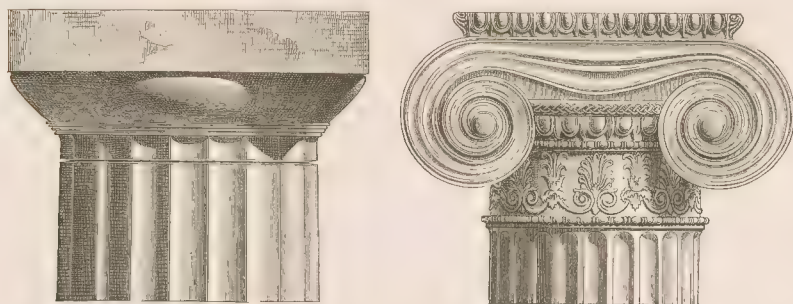
Then there arose simultaneously in the temple, two Greek arts side by side, differing in detail, but both near akin, children of the same Hellenic spirit, the Doric and the Ionic styles. In the plan and general structure of the temple there is no difference. Walled terraces, the elevations of which are too high to serve as steps, form the foundation, and lift the sacred temple above the profane level. On the top, and in the centre, is placed the *cella*, the house of the statue, formed by four walls, surrounded with a colonnade of fluted pillars, which enclose a large circuit of covered space. The capitals support a decorated impost, consisting if, first the architrave or epistyle, then the frieze, and then that rich and composite cornice which forms the eaves of the roof. With a gentle slope the roof rises, leaving in front and rear a tympanum or triangular space which is filled with sculptures, and bears at its three angles three erect ornaments, the *akroteria*. A wide door, often of bronze, leads from the front to the interior, which is lighted by a large opening in the roof. This opening, called *hypæthron*—"under the sky"—might at pleasure be covered with planks. The interior might be a single hall with the statue in the background, or a portion of it might be set apart as a treasury for the riches of the temple. When the temple was of great size, as the Greek cities took a pride in building them, then the hall was divided into three naves, by two rows of columns extending its whole length. As these interior columns, without an entire change of proportion, could not reach to the elevated roof, they bore upon their architraves a second row, which formed galleries, as in the great temple of Poseidon at Paestum, and in the Parthenon. The ceiling of the hall, as of the portico, was divided into panelled compartments diminishing upwards, an ornament which evidently had its origin in the intersecting beams which formed the roof.

Within and without, all was decorated with colour; columns and imposts, gables and ceiling. This was also a survival, or rather a tradition, of ancient polychrome Asiatic art, which the Greek ennobled, though he scarcely softened. Nor can we say that this coloured decoration diminished in the course of time. So long as Greek architecture is advancing to its perfection, which was reached in the age of Perikles, the colour keeps increasing in brilliancy, strength, and richness. Blue, red, green, and gold blaze on all members and ornaments of the building, are heightened by contrast, making the whole temple a splendour of radiant hues, in full harmony with the flush of light and colour with which heaven, air and earth surround it. Not even the substitution of white marble for the coarser building-stone, a substitution which became general in the fifth century B. C., brought any change in this respect. Marble, prized for its own account as a more precious material, also offered a surface better adapted to receive colour, rendered the covering of stucco unnecessary, and doubtless gave a greater lustre to the transparent pigments or glazes.

This chromatic decoration belonged to the Doric as well as to the Ionic temple. The difference between the two lay in the heavier, more solid forms, the more solemn impressiveness of the one, and the light, slender elegance, the grace and delicacy of the

GREECE.

other; a difference which, more or less consciously, gave rise to their appellations, as they correspond to the general differences in character of the two races. In accordance with this distinction we find not only the greater slenderness, but also the wider intercolumniation of the Ionic columns, which, moreover, did not, like the Doric, lift their fluted shafts immediately from the floor, but stood upon a base, the most usual design of which was the so-called Attic *spira*, consisting of two rolls separated by a cavetto. With this base, with deeper flutings, with a capital whose soft volutes were far more ornamental than the circular swelling *echinus* of the Doric, and probably also with brighter colouring, the Ionic column presented a much gayer appearance. In the same way was it with the impost, in which the architrave consisted of three members, each projecting a little over that below, while the succession of triglyphs and metopes above was replaced by a continuous sculptured frieze.

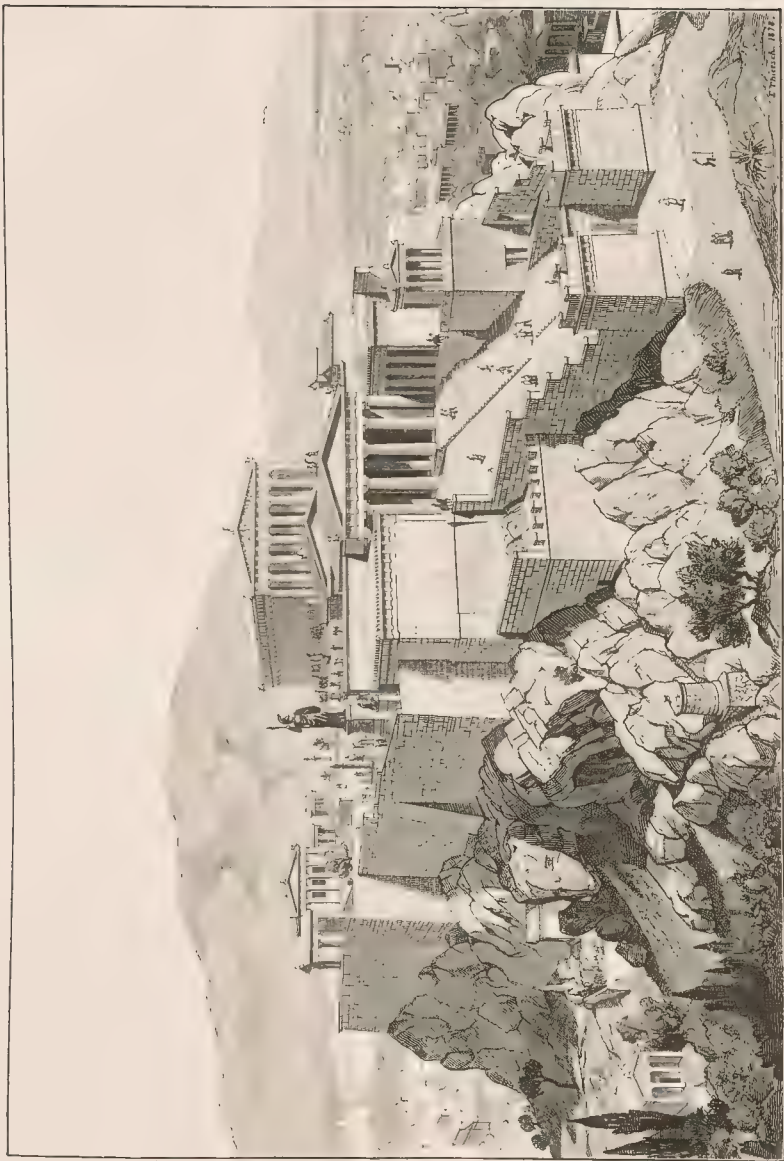


DORIC AND IONIC CAPITALS.

The pediment of the roof also showed slighter differences in form as well as in the coloured ornament.

In the Greek states, whether of Doric or Ionic origin, both orders of architecture were in general use, with the difference, however, that in the east, and especially in Asia Minor, the Ionic was most in favour; while in Greece proper, and in the western colonies in Southern Italy and Sicily, the Doric was preferred. In Attika both styles were used; and in Athens both at the same time attained their highest beauty and perfection. This was during the period when Perikles held the government of the state. Athens, after the Persian wars, had become the intellectual, and to a great extent, the political head of Greece. The victories had given a new impulse to the citizens; trade and manufactures had enriched them, the contributions of the allies had filled the public treasury, and money was abundant. From all sides visitors poured to the centre of power and culture, some to share in its prosperity, and some to find a field for their knowledge, talent, or skill. Learned men came, poets, and artists of genius which has never yet been surpassed. And all found in Perikles a man who knew how to value these talents and acquisitions, and turn them to the adornment and fame of his native city.

Most of the temples were still in ruins as the Persians had left them; for the Greeks had been thinking more of protecting the country and strengthening the city, of the Long Walls, and similar measures of defence, than of their ruined shrines. But now, through the exertions of Perikles, the temples were rebuilt everywhere, and the city adorned with public



AKROPOLIS OF ATHENS.

buildings; and Athens, as the real metropolis, began to surpass the other Greek cities in external splendour. To crown his work, Perikles fixed upon the Akropolis, the seat of the guardian deities of the land, Pallas Athene and Poseidon, which now was no longer needed as a fortress. Here there was to be a holy place such as no other city could boast, the pride of Athens, with temples and statues shining far over land and sea. In council with his friend, Pheidias, the whole Akropolis became a mass of harmoniously arranged architecture, in which the separate buildings appeared as component parts, as is shown in the annexed illustration. The Erechtheion, the proper national sanctuary, the common temple of the gods of the land, which had been long before begun, was now finished. On the site of the ancient temple of Athene, the architect Iktinos erected the majestic Parthenon, which Pheidias adorned with all the wealth of his genius in works surpassing all else that plastic art has produced. To give the whole design a fitting beginning and end, on the sides by which the Akropolis was accessible, broad flights of marble stairs were constructed, built over with colonnades, through which those entering the citadel had to pass. These were the *Propylæa*, erected by the architect Mnesikles. Portions of all these buildings still remain, of sufficient importance to allow us to restore—as has been attempted in our illustrations—these finest works of Greek architecture.

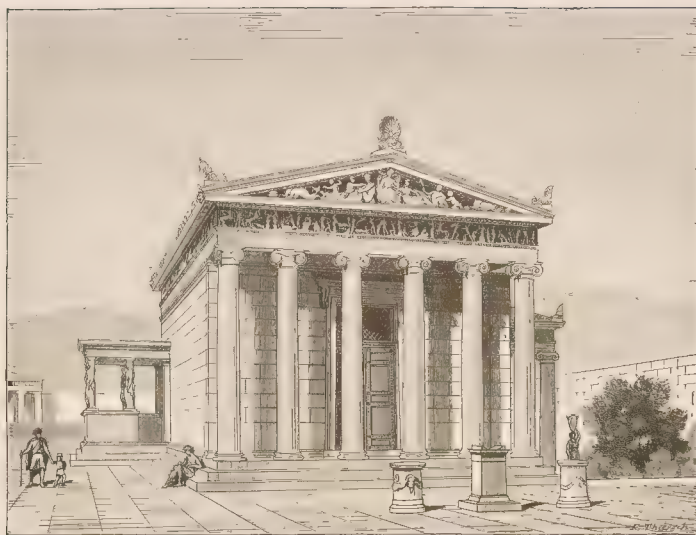
In these works of Perikles and his associates, both styles, the Doric and the Ionic, are represented, and both in the highest perfection. The Parthenon is pure Doric: a noble peripteros of a hundred feet in breadth and two hundred and twenty-six in length, of unusually light and slender proportions for its style, at least as compared with the Doric temples of Sicily and Southern Italy. Its interior is divided into three naves by two rows of columns, each bearing a superimposed row; and is also divided transversely. The front and larger division contained the famous colossal statue of the goddess by the hand of Pheidias, and was the hall for ceremonies and celebrations; while that in the rear was the treasury of the state. Around the outer wall of the cella ran unbroken the frieze of the Panathenaia, and the metopes inclosed bas-reliefs, all, like the decorations of the pediments, from the hands of Pheidias and his pupils and assistants.

The Erechtheion—seen on the left in our illustration—was in the Ionic style; its



KARYATID OF THE ERECHTHEION.

GREECE.



THE ERECHTHEION
Restoration.

porticoes which, on account of the conformation of the ground, were somewhat irregular in design, had Ionic columns. A small side-portico, called the Hall of the Maidens, had, in the place of columns, to bear the impost, the female figures with baskets on their heads, called Karyatids; probably a motive from the Panathenaia. Both styles were united in the propylaia. The visitor, on ascending the steps, was confronted by a row of Doric columns, he then crossed a hall of the Ionic order, and left it through a second Doric range.

This was the great building-time of Athens, when with architecture all other arts and crafts were busily employed, and rapidly developed. The succeeding period of the Peloponnesian war and the misguided democracy was by no means favourable to art. In Athens architecture came to a stand, but in other cities and states much building went on; and there was a rivalry, which long continued, in adorning both city and country with temples and monuments, public buildings and colonnades, walks, gymnasia, courts, etc. Especially was the market-place, with its surroundings, the pride of the city. But out of all this zeal and enthusiasm, for a time at least, no new style arose. True, an architect Kallimachos invented, we are told, a new capital with an ornamentation of acanthus leaves, which received as a distinction the name of Corinthian; but the Greeks never considered this anything more than a variation of the Ionic style; and the Romans were the first to make a new "order" of it. It was the Romans, too, who by the introduction of arches, domes, and other decorative elements, infused new life and new purpose into Greek architecture.

Of all arts, architecture was the first in Greece to attain complete development. Painting followed, but, as far as we can learn, but slowly and hesitatingly. As far as we can learn; for nothing has been preserved of Greek painting which belongs to the period



INTERIOR OF THE PARTHENON.

of its development, or that of its perfection, down to the time when, long after the death of the great artists, it was taken under the protection of the Romans. The works of a Polygnotos, a Zeuxis, or an Apelles we only know from the reports of authors. The effect which those works produced, the high price which was paid for them, seem to imply a great perfection; but we can form no conception or judgment of their character or merits. The most that we can do is to draw a retrospective inference from the decorative painting of Roman imperial times, as it has been preserved in Rome, in Herculaneum and Pompeii; but the inference is deceptive, for we can not judge from the slight work of inferior artists what were the productions of the great masters.

There is, however, one branch of true Greek painting which is contemporary with the whole period of artistic development in Greece; and this is the vase-painting. It was a custom of the Greeks, as of the Etruscans, to place painted vessels of terra-cotta in the grave with the dead; and thousands of these have been preserved, the greater part of which, though found in Italy, are of Greek origin, especially Athenian and Corinthian. Ornamented for the most part with figures, they allow us, in a sense at least, to follow the process of development from its earliest stages to its decline after Alexander the Great. But here, too, what we see is the work of handicraftsmen, rather than of real artists. This vase-painting, moreover, is a restricted art; it is the decoration of a vessel whose form and colour fix the laws for its treatment, and thus limit the painting to a style which, properly speaking, does not go beyond a silhouette of two colours. When more are added, they are only for the purpose of filling up the outlines.

However primitive the times to which our discoveries reach, those of Schliemann at Troy and Mykenai, and those of Cesnola in Cyprus included, they all have to show ornamented vessels of baked clay. The linear decoration, in its manifold variations and combinations, is no other than that of the Keltic and Germanic funeral urns; but the Greeks from the first also show that sense of form which in more advanced periods produced such beautiful and admirable results. When the ceramic art among the Greeks abandoned that primitive stage, it is not easy to say; as indeed the chronology of all its successive or simultaneous styles is very uncertain. The next stage shows us vessels of clay with a light ground, bearing figures of men and animals in red or dark brown, which encircle the vase in a series, one following the other. The animals are partly real wild creatures, partly fantastic; and the whole character is oriental; whence the style has been called Asiatic.

The proper Greek style, we may say, begins with the next stage, that of vases with black figures on a red ground. Here the animals disappear, and the ornament assumes a distinctly Greek character. There are, however, many variations of this style; some with the whole ground red, or—a transition to the following stage—the greater part of the surface grounded in black, with a space of red ground at the front and back to receive the figures. The black figures are pure silhouettes, especially imperfect in the drawing of hands and feet, but expressive in the attitudes. Yet these vessels belong to a period when the temple architecture had long reached, if not its highest delicacy, yet its perfection of form.

The next stage, the vases with red figures on a ground of black, belongs to the flowering-period of Greek art. The pure, elegant forms are surrounded with a smooth black glaze of great delicacy and hardness; while the red figures have been left unglazed, and in these interior contours have been drawn, which give a certain amount of life and expression. These figures are nobler, more delicate, perfectly drawn, and show us that the contemporary painting must have attained a certain perfection, at least in the drawing. With these we have Athenian

GREECE.



VASES.
1. Ancient style. 2. Athenian funeral vase with white ground. 3. The perfected style. 4. Intermediate style.

vases of very elegant form, with white grounds, produced by a calcareous covering, in which the figures are drawn in body-colours, with very little solidity. This is the flowering-time of vase-painting. The next step shows, it is true, an advance, but it contains many weaknesses that betoken decay, and are foreshadowings of the decline and the fall of Greek freedom. The vase becomes a piece of magnificence; it assumes colossal proportions, and the artist's modest palette receives new colours, even gold; while he aims at still greater richness of pictorial ornament. But at the same time the technique loses in solidity, the glaze grows less smooth and bright, the colour is laid on more lightly, and the whole impression that of less refinement, less care and precision. The drawing is more formal in composition; and a favourite design is that of a temple, a monument, or other building in the centre, around which the figures are grouped; or else the groups which should stand behind are placed above the others.

So to this last stage of vase-painting, which was contemporary with Apelles, very much is lacking to make it a complete and free branch of art. Charming and perfectly harmonious as is the Greek vase of the beautiful and rich style, both in form and colour, considered as a vessel, as a utensil, its painting is altogether inefficient as a representation of real life; of this it only gives a shadow. Though we may admire the outlines of the drawing, the grace of the figures and attitudes, both the modelling of the human figure and the expression are imperfect. Despite the greater wealth of colour, the painting was mere illumination, the filling-in of outlines with colours which are not even those of nature: while of light and its effects, of shades and cast shadows, of half-shade and its gradations, there is no sign. Even if truth to nature be left out of the question, we have here no hint of the higher requirements of painting, an artistic united composition, aerial perspective, unity and massing of the light, modelling by



AMPHORA OF THE RICH STYLE.

In the royal collection at Munich.

means of colour, gradation and reciprocal action of the tones, and their arrangement so as to produce harmony.

Did Greek painting—the unfettered art of the great painters—possess these qualities? Did it advance to complete truth to nature, and beyond nature to that higher artistic work of which the magic is wrought by light and colour? We are almost compelled to believe it, from the accounts we have of the effects of those paintings; and beyond a doubt many of the stages were reached and many of the conditions fulfilled. However much or little—which, we know not—Greek painting remained below the highest level of art, yet we know that it became a completely free art, which in both kind and degree left far behind the Egyptian painting, with its restrictions and conventionalities.

Yet the beginnings of both were the same, though at different periods of history. Greek art also began as silhouette painting; and it was not very long before the Persian wars that Eumaros first distinguished men from women in his figures, and after him Kimon of Kleonai drew the head correctly in profile, and was able to paint eyes either wide open, or with drooping lids. These were followed by Polygnotos, the first of the great painters, the contemporary and protégé of the Athenian general Kimon, who flourished about 475–455 B. C., thus coming down to the time of Perikles and Pheidias. He was a painter in the noble style, and adorned the public buildings with frescoes of Homeric, mythologic, or historical subjects, especially the Stoa Poikile at Athens, the bright-coloured or painted portico (so named from his paintings); the Theseion, the Pinakotheka of the Propylaia, which constituted one of the wings; also at Thespiæ and Plataiæ, and finally the *Lesche*, or assembling-hall of the Knidians at Delphi. Without chiaroscuro, with few local colours, he still aimed at truth to nature, and in his historical paintings, even at portraiture. It is told of him that he painted the fish of Acheron, the river of death, so as to have a shadowy appearance, and showed the pebbles shining through the water. He even gave expressive countenances to his personages, so that it was said of his Polyxena that she had the whole Trojan war in her eyes. He grouped his figures, and brought forward the chief personages; but he introduced no background, but painted them on a monochromatic wall-surface.

As for the background, that advance in the art was due to the theatre. At that time the Attic stage used painted scenery and backgrounds. It was Apollodoros that first introduced these in paintings on panel, which from that time began to take the lead of wall-painting. This background, it is true, was of a very unpretentious kind; a few slight indications, not relieved from the ground of the picture, sufficed to give the idea of buildings or landscape. This painter also was the first to blend the colours into each other, and gave his figures light and shadow, whence he was called Skiagraphos, “the shadow-painter.”

Thus far had painting progressed in Athens in Perikles’ time. It had entered upon new paths, but was still only at their beginning. Its further advance did not come from Athens, which, during the Peloponnesian war, lost its leadership in this branch of art; but from other schools, and especially the Ionian and Sikyonian. To the former school belonged Zeuxis, Parrhasios and Timanthes, who vied with each other in their attempts to imitate nature. Zeuxis painted grapes which deceived the birds; Parrhasios a curtain which deceived Zeuxis. But these painters, who brought their art into universal favour, and reaped princely rewards from it, aimed at representing not only the reality, but the grace of nature; and they understood reality not merely in the physical, but also in the spiritual sense, the sense of expression as well as form. Thus, Parrhasios represented Odysseus simulating madness; or Demos, the personification of the democracy, with all its various qualities expressed in the face; while

Timanthes, in his most celebrated work, the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, represented all degrees of grief, until he came to the father, when, not being able to depict a more poignant expression of anguish, he drew a veil over the face. Zeuxis wrought out the novelty of shadows in such a manner that he was regarded by the ancients as the real founder of painting.

The school of Sikyon had other merits. It was a school in the proper sense of the word: it trained pupils. Here, therefore, theory, technique, and correctness were leading features; the aid of science, of mathematics, was called in; a careful study of nature was inculcated, and thus the training took an academic direction. From this school came the art of encaustic painting, about which we are so much in the dark, but which led especially to the production of works on a small scale. Pausias was the chief master of this style; he painted Methe, or Drunkenness, drinking from a glass vessel through which her face was seen; he painted a bull viewed directly in front, with such accuracy of drawing and foreshortening that it seemed not only to recede, but to stand at some distance from the front.

But all these and other painters were surpassed by Apelles, the contemporary and court-painter of Alexander the Great. By birth an Ionian of Asia Minor, he completed his studies in Sikyon, and thus united the freedom and grace of one school with the correctness and earnestness of the other. Alexander would allow himself to be painted by Apelles only, because no other knew how to beautify the unpleasing features of the great conqueror with a certain intellectual nobleness. He painted also Alexander's generals, his beloved Kampaspe, and his military exploits. But the highest power of Apelles was not in portrait or historical painting, but in mythological subjects, or rather in the representation of beauty itself. He was not fond of compositions crowded with figures, but the single form he gave with absolute truth, with the surest drawing, and at the same time with the greatest ease. His certain art knew no hesitation. In that charm with which he knew how to surround the goddess of beauty and love, whom he painted arising from the sea, pressing the water from her luxuriant tresses with flower-soft hands—in that sweet, ineffable fascination which enchants the beholder—no other painter, according to the ancients, ever equalled him. This feeling of beauty was all his own.

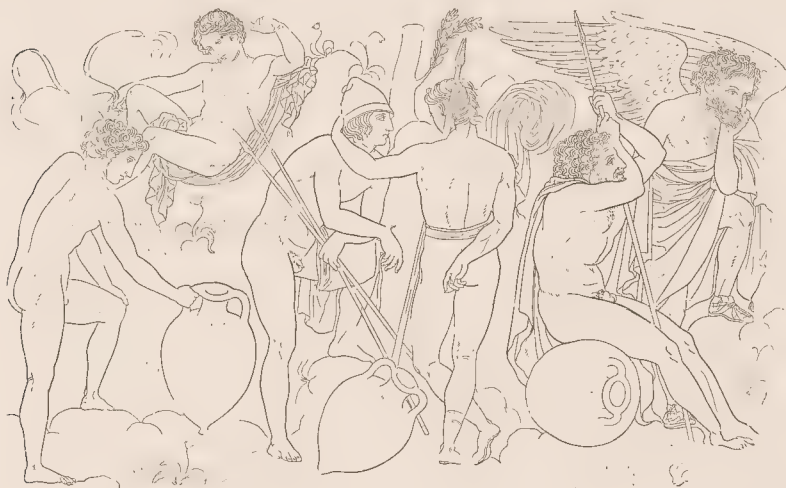
With Apelles Greek painting attained its highest perfection. After him it entered indeed upon other paths, but reached no higher stage. Painters like Protogenes at Rhodes, with painstaking care, imitated nature on a small scale; and he was a leader in the direction of realism. Others became virtuosi like Theon, who painted a swordsman in the act of attacking, who seemed to be striding out of the picture. Others again—the Dutch school of that period—painted with laborious ingenuity objects of common life, still-life pieces, fruit and other viands, shoemakers' and barbers' shops, and the like. They were nicknamed the *Rhyparographoi* or "dirt-painters," but their pictures brought high prices, as those of the same style do now. Even caricature painting was practised in the *Grylloi*, as they were called; and finally, under Alexander's successors, landscape itself was taken as an independent subject for pictorial representation.

Thus, then, Greek painting had, in extent at least, pretty well completed the circuit of its possibilities. Its various stages and branches are all found continued in the paintings discovered, of the date of the first Roman emperors; but of the height which it had reached in the time of Apelles they give no conception. Some intimation of it, however, is given by a work which seems to have been derived from Greek art of an earlier time, the mosaic of the battle of Issos (see page 39), or those four paintings found in the first discoveries at Herculaneum, whose figures are outlined in red; or, finally, the so-called Ficoronian cista in the Kircherian museum at Rome—a round toilette-box of bronze, ornamented with engraved scenes

EPOCHS OF ART.

from the Argonautic expedition. True, these are but drawings; but they are drawings worthy of Greece and of the flowering-time of her art.

Posterity has been more fortunate with regard to Greek plastic art, and in this respect it is doubly fortunate, for this was the favoured art, the special art of Greece, that which has never had its equal before nor since. We may regard Greek painting as surpassed both in spirit and in colouring by the great painters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but the sculptors their contemporaries, and still more those of more recent times, must yield the palm to a Pheidias or a Praxiteles. And from these very masters, the greatest of all, enough has been left not merely to show us what their work was, but to fill us with admiration and delight. Nor



FROM THE PICORONIAN CISTA.

are their predecessors and followers unknown to us, even if we, in part, know them only by copies of their famous works. So it is possible to follow the whole history of sculpture as illustrated by its works though, it is true, not without some breaks in the series—and with their help to understand and to share the admiration of the ancients.

Sculpture also began at a relatively late date to rise above its crude beginnings. Dedicated, as it was, to the service of the gods, it had first to free itself from religious trammels. It had also to master technical difficulties: to learn how to overcome the resistance of tough and heavy material, before it could handle it freely and bring it into form. Wood, metal and stone are alike employed. Wood, however, where sacred traditions did not compel adherence to the rude, block-like figure, was overlaid with metallic plates, hammered to fit the form. This metallic plating, the *sphyrelaton*, was, as we have said above, the most ancient technique of metallurgic art, a technique of Asiatic origin. Next they learned, what was also a very ancient practice, to rivet the plates together, and then to solder them; this last being the invention, it is stated, of Glaukos the Chian, in the seventh century B. C.; and somewhat later the Samians

GREECE.

Rhoikos and Theodoros discovered the art of casting in bronze. From this time, about 600 B. C., began the artistic use of bronze-casting, and with this plastic art was freed from her technical fetters and could take a bolder flight.

At the same time the religious shackles were struck off. The art had grown up in the temple-service, and in the service of the gods it lived from generation to generation in the same families, descending by inheritance from father to son and grandson. The temple needed plastic decoration for its building; it needed costly and richly-ornamented votive gifts; it needed statues of the gods also, but these must be true to the old tradition, stiff and rigid, with legs closed and arms fast to the sides. It was an advance when, at a late date, the legs were separated, the eyes opened, and some gesture given to the arms. Another thing then came to the help of art, which not only freed the representation of the human body from all fetters—the divinities themselves had to lay aside their divinity, and at last even their majesty—but evoked that aspiration for perfection of form, that unconquerable and all-pervading passion for beauty. This was the national custom of gymnastics, especially after these were practised in the nude state. In the gymnasia the artist learned to know the human body; and here the sense of beauty received its education. About the year 600 B. C., the custom arose at the Olympian games of placing a bronze statue of the victor in the sacred grove of the Altis; or he might himself erect one if he had been thrice victorious. Thus numerous demands were made upon art, which might here go at once to nature for lessons. The immense advance which was thus brought about took place in the sixth century B. C., about the time of the Persian wars.

But though this advance followed soon, it was not immediate. It is true the famous metopes of Selinus in Sicily, rough, crude, imperfect work, with still some dramatic life, may be ascribed to a mechanical and provincial art; but even the famous Aiginetai, marble sculptures from the temple of Athene in Aigina, now the pride of the Glyptothek at Munich, are far from having reached perfection, although they are believed to be the work of Onatas, of the well-known and eminent school of Aigina. These figures decorated the two pediments, each representing the combat around a fallen warrior, who, on the front pediment, is Achilles, and they are especially remarkable for the wonderfully correct representations of the human body. Every attitude and motion has been thoroughly studied, and is true to the very fingertips, while it is wrought out with consummate technical skill. Muscles, joints, veins, all show thorough study of nature, and a truth so exact that its realism is almost repellent. But what is wanting is the artist's soul, which transforms whatever he beholds, and fills the stone with his own spirit and life. The heads are mere typical forms, with fixed gaze and an unmeaning smile; Athene, who stands in the midst guarding the body, in a fixed, traditional attitude, with her robe falling in careful symmetrical folds, appears perfectly indifferent to the whole proceeding.

Fifty years later, about the middle of the fifth century B. C., all that the Aiginetans lacked had been won. The three greatest pupils of Argeladas in Argos, Myron, Polykletos, and Pheidias, reached the summit of their art; and in the time of Perikles, sculpture was in its highest perfection. Thenceforth it might enter upon new paths, but could reach no higher level. Myron, an artist in bronze by preference, and famed for his statues of victors, was the first who, like a new Prometheus, quickened his material with life, and breathed into the dead form a living soul. His Ladas, victor in the foot-race, expires just on reaching the goal, and has the last gasp upon his lips; the statue was said to be not the "running," but the "panting" Ladas, so truly did it show the exhausted frame, quivering with the dying gasp. His Diskobolos in

EPOCHS OF ART.

the act of throwing, of which a number of copies have been preserved, in a bending attitude, and grasping, as it were, the earth with the toes, is a perfect youthful figure with all its muscles at highest tension. With this conception of art, he enlarged the field of representation; and threw off the last fetters of tradition by his fondness for animal figures. His famous cow was said to deceive both men and animals by its fidelity to nature.

Polykletos, his fellow pupil, took another course. Not the dramatic effect of a body in energetic action, the perfect form, the faultless beauty was what he loved to represent. Out of the living, he made the beautiful figure. To exhibit this in pure beauty, he placed it in attitudes of repose, the lines only moved by some slight action, as when the figure rests his weight upon one leg, and seems to play with the other. So his *Doryphoros*, the young spearman, that may stand for a model of youthful male beauty; and so his *Diadumenos*, a



DRAPED FEMALE FIGURE FROM THE FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON.
In the British Museum.

boyish figure winding a wreath about his brows; or his *Kanephorai*, maidens carrying baskets, in perfectly calm attitudes.

The qualities of both these contemporaries, life and beauty, were united by Pheidias, who, when the subject requires it, raises both to godlike majesty and sublimity. Perikles found in Pheidias the head and hand for his designs of ornamenting Athens; but Pheidias also found his Perikles, who could comprehend this mighty and opulent artistic soul, and employ him in works on a noble scale. It is amazing, the work that proceeded from these studios. Even if not all was from his own hand, which would have been a mere impossibility, still it originated in his brain, was executed under his eye, and informed with his soul.

Such are the sculptures of the Parthenon, of which a good part, in better or worse preservation, are in the British Museum. The two vast pediments were filled with a host of colossal figures, representing on one side the birth of Athene, or her first appearance in the assembly of the gods; on the other her contention with Poseidon for Attika. Ninety-two sculptures in high relief, mostly combats with Centaurs, fill the metopes around, and a frieze four hundred feet long, in basso-rilievo, surrounds the four external walls of the cella. Nor is this rough, coarse work, intended for effect at a distance, such as Paionios and Alkamenos

GREECE.

at nearly the same time wrought for the temple of Zeus in Olympia; but all thorough, conscientious artistic work.

This stupendous frieze, a marvel of human thought and human hand, exhibits the festival of the Panathenaia; but not properly the feast and the procession, nor, as some think, the preparation for it, but the artist freely chose his motives from both, and arranged them with an eye to the artistic effect. They are episodes of the reality; some pictures from the procession, others genre-pieces from the preparations, in part quite common subjects; men such as he saw and lived with, high and low, young and old, mistresses and maids, animals belonging to the festival, noble horses with their youthful riders, beasts for the sacrifice, stubborn bulls and patient rams. In all this, in the high as well as the low, in the noble as in the common, the great artist recognized that element which dwells in living things, and raises even the common to be a worthy subject of art. Using, but toning down this nameless element, heightening the beautiful and the graceful by contrast with the coarse and ignoble, he knew how, without in the least departing from reality, to give the whole that sacred character that belonged to the festival, and befitted the decoration of a temple. Throwing his fiery artist's soul into the whole and into each detail, he exhibited men and things as *he* saw them, in their artistic essentiality. And so it is that to-day, we, even in contemplation of the fragments, can feel as Pheidias felt; in looking at these scenes of daily life, can forget our own daily life with its toils and cares, until, in the presence of these calm, yet life-like figures, the unrest of the heart and all passions are lulled to sleep, and a sense of bliss takes possession of the spirit.

But this is but one side of the art of Pheidias. The fame of his reliefs was far surpassed by that of his statues of deities, of which his Athene and his Olympian Zeus were celebrated far and near, and for centuries, even down to the overthrow of paganism, were visited, as it were in pilgrimages, by all lovers of art, not only of Greece but of the whole Roman empire. With the fall of paganism, they also perished; and to form any conception of them we are driven to the descriptions and other testimonies of ancient writers. Pheidias first erected on the citadel of Athens, standing out in the open air, a colossal bronze statue, about sixty feet high, of Athene Promachos, the armed protectress of the land. Next he wrought her statue in a standing posture, and rising to the roof, in the interior of the Parthenon; and in a similar style, but seated, that wonder of plastic art, the statue of Zeus in the temple at Olympia, which, in the judgment of the ancients, was the noblest work that sculpture had ever achieved.

Both colossi were specimens of that kind of art known as *chryselephantine*, that is, wrought with gold and ivory. This is a survival of the primitive style of overlaying with metal, carried out in the most precious materials. All parts in which the surface of the body was shown, were encrusted with ivory, while the drapery was of beaten gold. In this combination lay an element of colour, and a very happy one, for the warm mellow tint of the ivory harmonizes well with gold. But the artist went even farther in this direction; the hair was gilt, the cheeks tinged, and the eyes made of jewels; while even the golden drapery received painted ornamentation. Here there was a notable departure from that colourlessness of Greek sculpture, which has been held as an article of artistic faith for centuries, even down to our own time. But in fact the belief was altogether an error. Traces of painting have been found on the most important works of Greek sculpture, both early and late; and the accounts of authors clearly indicate as much to any unprejudiced mind. This colouring of the sculpture was in perfect accord with the colouring of the architecture. We must therefore abandon the



YOUNG ATHENIAN HORSEMEN IN THE PROCESSION OF THE PANATHENAEA.

EPOCHS OF ART.

old idea; the only question now being how, and under what limitations, the colouring or painting was applied; on which points a satisfactory conclusion has by no means been reached.

In these statues of Pallas and of Zeus, Pheidias took an ideal that was above humanity. He wished to represent gods—gods in whom man might believe, and whom he might reverence and worship. With this view he created ideal figures; the mighty king of the gods, at the bending of whose brows the heights of Olympos shake; and Pallas Athene, the powerful and



NIÖBE.
Statue in Florence.

warlike protectress of the state, but at the same time the goddess of wisdom and of the arts. And these ideals he wrought so full of dignity, grandeur and majesty, that he fixed the types for all time. This was not the case with the other gods, whose artistic creation was mostly the work of later artists. Among these there were two, Skopas and Praxiteles, who led art into new paths, or gave new directions to the old. Skopas chiefly followed the lead of Myron, and Praxiteles that of Polykletos. If Myron gave his statues life and soul, Skopas filled them with passion, with dramatic expression. Thus he wrought a mainad in the frenzy of Bacchic inspiration, her head thrown back, her hair flying in the winds, a rent kid in her hands, "a soul goaded with madness." So we see in the Niobe-group, attributed to him, and of which copies

GREECE.

have been preserved, a real tragedy, full of pathos. A mother whose audacious pride in her blooming children has drawn upon her the wrath and the punishment of the gods; smitten, stunned, in inexpressible anguish, she sees all her children falling around her, pierced by the deadly shafts. Full of life and movement also are the figures on the monument of Mausolos in Halikarnassos, which certainly show the influence of Skopas. And when he wrought beautiful and delicate figures, he knew how to inform these also with passion, as his Eros and Aphrodite.

But Aphrodite above all was the famed creation of Praxiteles. He represented her in five statues, of which the most famous was that of Knidos, of which if not an exact copy, at least a figure of similar design is preserved at Munich. When the older school of Pheidias and his contemporaries had to represent an Aphrodite, they saw in her, above all, the deity. Even as the representative of the most blooming female beauty, she still remained a goddess in dignity and majesty. They never ventured to represent her entirely nude, but partially veiled her in drapery. Thus stands the goddess of love and still a woman. A legend ran that Aphrodite had descended from Olympos to reveal her form to Praxiteles; and to his figure the rival goddesses, Pallas and Hera, yielded the prize of beauty.

In such figures of youthful beauty Praxiteles showed his power. These are the peculiar property of the new school. As he had created the type of Aphrodite, so he also created the type of the soft, effeminate, dreamy Bacchos, and the tender, boyish, winning Eros. His Hermes with the infant Bacchos, discovered recently in Olympia, shows this tendency. From this school came the charming youthful Apollo Sauroktonos—Apollo killing a lizard—and that wonderful boy called Ilioneus, in the Glyptothek at Munich, which, though a torso only, enchants all beholders.



VENUS OF MELOS
In the Louvre.

beauty in the Venus of Melos, which is looked upon as the most beautiful work of Greek sculpture which has descended to us, though the ancients make no reference to it, and we know neither the name of the artist, nor can with any certainty fix the date of the work. But this Venus is worthy to receive the prize of beauty, which it is supposed she was holding triumphantly aloft in her left hand.

Otherwise was it with Praxiteles and the artists that succeeded him. He represented Aphrodite perfectly nude; and while depriving her of lofty dignity, in requital he invested her with all the charms of love. Out of the goddess of beauty he made the goddess of love, the fairest of all women, yet

EPOCHS OF ART.

Stamped with this character the new school ruled the advance of plastic art down to the time of Alexander, when Lysippos of Sikyon, the last of the great Greek sculptors, gave it a new direction. In Sikyon painting had already taken a theoretic and academical turn; and something similar was the case with sculpture. Lysippos established a new canon of the human form, looking rather toward refinement and ideality, and modelling the figure not as it really was, but as he conceived it. He made the heads and extremities smaller, and his figures generally slenderer than nature. Of this style we have, in a copy, if not in the original, his *Apoxyomenos*, now in the Vatican, representing a gymnast scraping the oil from his arms.



DYING GAUL
In the Capitol at Rome.

As Lysippos also understood the art of idealizing portraits, he became the favourite sculptor of Alexander, who would only be modelled by him, as he would only be painted by Apelles.

Lysippos had many pupils, but none rose to the height of the master. Art did not come to a stand, although a pause is generally admitted from the beginning of the third to the middle of the second century B. C.; but it widened its field and was carried by Alexander and his successors far into the East. In the East also two schools of sculpture preserved the fame of the art, though with inferior talent and less creative genius; one in Pergamon under the Attalids, the other at Rhodes, the rich commercial city, which in later times became the nurse of science and of art, and took the place of Athens. What novelty these schools offered was the bold employment of the powers they had acquired from faithful study of their predecessors. Especially does this apply to Rhodes, while that of Pergamon exhibits a tendency to realism, which we may see in the figures of the fighting and the dying Gaul, once on the triumphal monument of Attalus II.; as also in the "Knife-whetter." The audacity of the Rhodian school was shown in its colossi, of which the gigantic bronze colossus of the Sun-god at the entrance of the harbour, the work of Chares of Lesbos, of the school of Lysippos, was the wonder of the world. The virtuosity of this school, its admirable

GREECE.



THE FARNESIE BULL.
In the Naples Museum.

technique and anatomical knowledge, we can still admire in the *Laocoön*, a work of three Rhodian artists, Agcsandros, Athanadoros, and Polydoros. Whatever technical skill could do has been done in these bodies of father and sons, wrapped in the serpents' folds, in these tense and quivering limbs, and these faces of agony. But our pleasure in this work is no longer the pure pleasure of art, the unalloyed enjoyment of beauty; our pleasure is mingled with interest in the technical achievement, and the sense of difficulties made but to be overcome. In the work we never lose sight of the workman. This is also the case with another work of the Rhodian school which has been preserved—the group of the so-called Farnese Bull, representing Zethos and Amphion binding Dirke to the wild bull; a joint work of Apollonios and Tauriskos; full of life and beauty in the details, but as a whole wanting in true artistic effect, fragmentary and without repose.

Such were the last creations of Greek sculpture in the times of freedom. Soon afterwards the Roman love of art began to exercise an influence over the art of Greece; at first, it is true, only shown in plundering Greece of her treasures and her statues. Thousands of these the Roman generals successively bore away, and it took whole days for the triumphal proces-

EPOCHS OF ART.

sion to enter the city. But however often it happened, and vast as were the numbers transported from Greece by the Romans to adorn not only Rome but their private palaces and villas, far more were still left. It is incredible to what an extent Hellas was crowded with treasures of art; and that not in the principal cities alone, but in all places great and small, in public buildings, in temples, in the market places and streets and roads, even in regions like Anatolia, and Akarnania, which were considered half barbarian. Neither in abundance nor beauty of such work has the world ever again even approached to what Greece had achieved. Even in the second century A. D., when many once great and renowned cities were lying in ruins, and grass was growing and herds feeding on their desolate sites, the traveller Pausanias is amazed at the abundance of what he has to see and describe; and the reader of his careful description still wonders how there could be such a profusion of artistic wealth in these small states and cities.

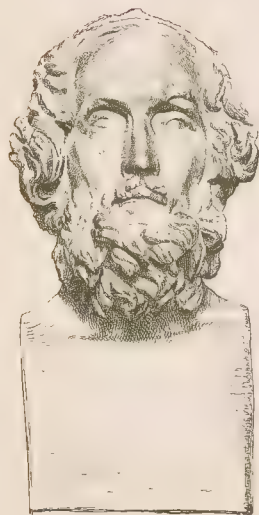
But the Romans did not merely plunder Greece of its treasures. So soon as they had attained an understanding and taste for art, it seemed as if about to flourish once more under their patronage. In this revival were produced works like the Apollo Belvedere, the Venus de' Medici, and that mighty Herakles, whose torso—a rock-like mass—still moves our wonder. But of these we shall speak later.





2.

POETRY.



HOMER

AT the beginning of Greek literature stands Homer, a wonder and an enigma. Behind him lies the mysterious impenetrable world of legend, a night thronged with dreams; and after him comes a dawning of history in which certain real figures can be distinguished. Out of the midst of this gloom he shines in solitary splendour, shedding his inextinguishable light over all the succeeding ages.

Doubtless there were poets and poems before Homer. Thessalia, also called Pieria, the abode of the Pierian Muses, the fountain-nymphs of Olympos, was said to be the first home of song. Hymns were chanted by the priest at the altar, and the people responded in paeans, or choral songs. The shepherd, the vintager, the girl spinning, all sang; and songs resounded at weddings and at funerals. Deeds of heroes were celebrated in verse and sung at banquets.

Of all these, the form of song last named, the epos, was the first to attain a literary position, and it also seems, almost from its origin, to have been characterised by a nobleness and completeness which have never been surpassed or even equalled. The Iliad and Odyssey



NAUSIKAA AND ODYSSEUS

PLATE 12

have cast into oblivion all that went before them, and thrown into the shade all that followed. Their influence pervaded the whole history of Greek culture, and has not even yet ceased. Youth learned wisdom and caught inspiration from these poems; the old found pleasure and pride in them; the tragic poets went to them for themes and characters; the painters and sculptors drew subjects for their art from this source, yet could never exhaust them.

The mystery which surrounds the person and the works of Homer, the marvel of their appearance, the contradictions which unquestionably are found in them, have given occasion to some critics to deny altogether the personality of Homer, and to declare these poems to be nothing but a compilation of popular ballads loosely strung together. But he who enjoys Homer's poems, and does not regard them as an anatomical cadaver, a subject for scientific dissection, will hardly let go his faith in the personality and unity of Homer. To him who brings to them an unbiassed mind, the poet appears as a mighty genius rounding off a period of development, and collecting all its scattered rays into a single focus; as a being looking down from a lofty height upon the deeds and into the hearts of men. Blind singer, as an old tradition called him, none ever saw with clearer vision, and none ever found exacter, happier phrase to describe what he saw.

The ancients believed in their Homer, and seven cities contested the honour of having given him birth. It is more probable—and with this conjecture his language and poetry best agree—that he was born in the Aiolian colony of Smyrna, and composed his poems in the Ionian island of Chios. In Chios, moreover, there flourished at a later day a school of rhapsodists, poets, and singers who called themselves *Homeridai*. In the rapidly growing colonies of Asia Minor Greek culture first attained permanent development, and poetry as well as plastic art seems to have first taken fixed forms. For the time of Homer's life we may take the second half of the tenth century B. C. Those to whom it appears incredible that two such mighty epic poets should have been contemporaries, while only the name of one has been preserved, see in the martial *Iliad* the earlier work of the poet, and in the peaceful, partly idyllic *Odyssey* a later composition.

We must admit that these poems have not been preserved to us in their primitive form. At the time when they arose, the Greeks, it is true, possessed the art of writing. This the Ionians had received from the Phoinikians; but they had changed the alphabet, the characters, and the direction of writing, and, as with so many other legacies of the Orient, had made them all Hellenic. After long hesitation whether they should write from right to left, like the Shemitic races, or from left to right, they decided upon the latter. But then, and for a long time after, they used writing only for short epigraphs, in business, or for documents and contracts that needed permanent record. In poetry they wanted recitation or song; they loved to hear it rather than to read it. Thus for centuries the Homeric poems lived in the memory of singers; and in this time many alterations, intentional or unintentional, must have been made in them, and many passages lost or inserted, until, once committed to writing, a fixed text was secured. This was done in Athens in the time of Peisistratos, at whose instance the scholar Onomakritos undertook a critical revision and arrangement of the poems, giving to the great poet what seemed worthy of him, and discarding what seemed to be the work of inferior hands.

For there arose, after Homer, a whole school of epic writers who chose the great mass of ancient traditions, and especially those events connected with the Trojan war which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had left untouched, as the materials for their poems. In early antiquity they were looked upon as forming a "circle," and hence were called the "cyclic poets." These

works have perished. Not so, however, has it been with another epic school, which arose at about the same time, and probably in consequence of Homer's influence. This was the Boiotian school, associated with the name of Hesiod, as the Ionian was with Homer.

Hesiod was of Aiolian birth, from the city of Kyme, but his abode was at Askra at the foot of Mount Helicon, where he lived within the influence of Delphi, at that time especially influential in the Dorian states. The Boiotian school thus came into contact with the Ionian, from which it borrowed the metrical form, the hexameter, while the subject-matter and whole character were quite different, judging at least from the works remaining which are ascribed to Hesiod. To the broad conceptions and vivid narration of the Ionian poets, this sententious, dry, didactic poetry, influenced perhaps by the pithy utterances of the Delphic oracle, stands in striking contrast. Hesiod collected the fables of the gods, and recorded them as a sort of history of religion. He also collected bits of proverbial and practical wisdom, out of which, in a rather jejune and commonplace way, he framed a code of practical morality for various stations in life, as an ethical manual to accompany the religious work. This was the poem entitled *Works and Days*. This contrast was noted at a very early day by his countrymen; and they invented a story of a poetic contest between him and Homer, in which the Boiotian bard was the victor. But such an occurrence is impossible, for even if Hesiod's date is as little certain as Homer's, he must still have lived at least a century later. Hesiod also had his followers and his school, and his works were altered and mixed with others. Thus neither is the text of Hesiod preserved in its original form, although it, like that of the greater poet, had the benefit of the critical labours of Onomakritos.

None of the followers of Homer and Hesiod attained the heights of those great masters: epic poetry still went on, but it was a stream that had choked its channel with sand, and lost its volume and force. The inner productivity, the proper creative genius, had vanished. But just as the epic form declined—and this is a remarkable phenomenon in Greek literature—a new form of poetry arose, the lyric, which alone filled a whole literary period. When this to a certain extent had completed its course, it was followed by the third principal form, the drama. And to this, when its attainment of the highest perfection had been followed by the death of its greatest masters, succeeded the wide range of prose literature.

Thus the various branches of poetry are also successive epochs of the history of literature, though it is true that their boundaries overlap, and the decline of one is concurrent with the origin of another: they are links of a chain. They also correspond with certain epochs of culture and with the progress of history, with which they stand in a relation of cause and effect. The epos, that deals with the deeds of kings and individual heroes, and takes no account of the people, belongs to the epoch of princely rule. Then followed the period when the aristocracy held power, and in the strife of parties the individual acquired consequence. To this period belongs the poetry of subjectivity, the lyric, in whose various branches we may again note the progress of culture. The elegy, the earliest branch, in both form and subject lies very close to the lyric; the iambic, the keen, aggressive, satirical poem, arose amid the strife of political parties; and the *melos* or song, which treats of feelings and emotions, of love, joy and sorrow, is the expression of complete subjectivity.

Finally, when the political barriers had fallen and the democracy had attained full development, and drew all energies into itself, then bloomed in the most democratic soil of all, in Athens, the last and highest branch of poesy, the drama, which to a certain extent includes all the others. But as the democracy exceeded its bounds and became demagoguery, when common men held rule, and low passions were set free, then arose its sharpest and most merciless

opponent in the caustic and mocking comedy. With this the poetic cycle was closed, and the leading forms had all been discovered and filled up.

The elegy is, like the epos, a child of Asia Minor and the Ionian race. Both the name and the style may be referred to the Phrygian *elegos*, the ancient song of wailing, always accompanied with the flute. With the Greeks, however, the name *elegeia* has reference rather to the form than to the substance of the poem; a form consisting of the recurring distich, the hexameter and pentameter. In subject the elegy might be patriotic and warlike, didactic, amatory, or convivial; or it might be, as in its origin, a song of lamentation, or "elegiac" in the modern sense of the word.

In the seventh century B. C., the elegy arose, at first patriotic and warlike. Kallinos, who bears the name of its inventor, encouraged with his elegies his countrymen, the Ephesians, in their contest with Magnesia; Tyrtaios, who was invited from Athens, inspired with his elegiac songs the Spartans, who, in the second Messenian war, began to lose heart and to quail under the bold attacks of Aristomenes, seconded by their own internal dissensions. Somewhat later, Solon, with an elegiac poem, moved the Athenians to reconquer the island Salamis. Theognis of Megara also, a banished aristocrat, composed political elegies, from which a later age culled a number of sage aphorisms, and formed them into a collection as a sort of manual of wisdom and virtue. Simonides of Keos sang the praises of those who fell at Marathon; but Mimnermos, who belonged to the time when Ionia was sinking into effeminacy, praises in his elegies the enjoyment of life, which, in the transitoriness of existence, is all that has charm or value.

Almost contemporary with the elegy arose the iambics, also a creation of the turbulent and fermenting time when the princely rule was drawing to a close. But in the earliest poets of this style, the iambic poem is less political than personal. This is the subjectivity before alluded to, breaking out in the direction of personal animosity. At the festival of Demeter it was the custom for those present to assail each other with mocking jests, as if under the protection of religion; and it may have been from this custom that (in the beginning of the seventh century B. C.) Archilochos, who composed songs for the service of Demeter, took the hint for his iambics. A bold innovator otherwise in poetry, he introduced new measures, the quick iambuses and trochees, and "sent them like sharp arrows" dipped in wit, sarcasm and scorn, against his enemies, thus driving them, the story goes, to suicide. Simonides of Amorgos, his successor, directed his satirical verses against whole classes of society, and among the rest was especially caustic in his attacks on the female sex. But the most malicious and bitterest of all was Hipponax, who lived about 540 B. C. He too is said by his scathing verses to have caused the death of his enemies, two sculptors whose offence was that they had caricatured the little ugly poet.

Elegy and iambus had their rise in Ionian soil, but the third kind of lyric, the *melos* or song proper, is Aiolian or Dorian. Of all the Greek races the Aiolian seems to have possessed the tenderest and most feeling soul; and to this above all was it given to clothe personal feelings and the heart's emotions, joy, sorrow, longing, in words and poetic form. The Aiolian song was the song of the singer himself, his own feelings and experiences, sung by himself and accompanied by the lyre. The island Lesbos and its fair capital Mitylene were the home of this song, which everywhere in Greece was highly admired but only sparingly imitated. Here there was a regular school, or rather schools, above which tower three honoured heads. One of these is Alkaïos, an aristocrat of Mitylene, a man of action and of party-strife, a restless ardent soul, who gave passionate expression to his hate and his love in new forms of

GREECE.

song. Contemporary with him, though somewhat younger, was the poetess Sappho, the object of his unrequited love, and the first of all poetesses, as the Greeks at all times acknowledged. The later Attic comedy soiled her fair name with fictitious love-adventures to which she was entirely a stranger. History knows nothing of Phaon and the leap from the Leukadian rock. History knows Sappho as a wedded wife and the mother of a beloved child; as the head of a school of maidens whom she instructed in song and the choral dance. Her songs overflowed with tender and glowing love, with passionate feeling; they are the true speech of the heart, cast into the most graceful form. Unfortunately but one of these poems has been preserved entire, and beyond this we have only a few disjointed fragments. Among her successors Anakreon of Teos bears a celebrated name. But this Ionian, who sang at the courts of the tyrants and celebrated their minions, possessed none of the Aiolian fire and passion; these had long been extinguished. This white-haired old voluptuary knew nothing of love but its transient enjoyment, and he sings only of love, wine, and the dance; but the light and graceful form into which he cast his songs made them models for imitation for centuries, and of these copies, unfortunately, more have come down to us than of the originals.

The Doric race also has its lyric poetry, but as in this race the individual was always postponed to the state, so these Doric songs are not the outpourings of personal feeling, but chants and odes composed for particular occasions, mostly of a public character, to be rendered by a chorus of men and maidens, always with the accompaniment of music and the dance. This lyric poetry was, to a certain extent, an affair of state, in Sparta at least, where poetry flourished after the Messenian wars, and many poets and musicians arose. Terpander and Thaletas reorganized their musical system, after whom Alkman, a Lydian by birth, and for a time a slave in Sparta, brought to music (about 620 B. C.) a poetry richer in forms, and taught the choirs many admired paeans and hymns. At the same time, or a little later, flourished another poet, Stesichoros of Himera in Sicily, who cast the strophe-song into a more artistic form, and thus was the forerunner of Pindar. He was also considered the inventor of the bucolic poem. Then came Arion, a Lesbian, and either originated or perfected the dithyrambos, or Bacchic chant of rejoicing, which he taught to choruses at Corinth, while Ibykos of Rhegion, a wandering bard, breathed his own love-passion into choral songs. His fame, however, paled before that of Simonides of Keos, who in the time of the Persian wars had the first name among lyric poets. A man of high station and consideration, and even a personage of political importance, he was rather a poet of wide and varied culture, refined form and noble thoughts, than a bard of genius, fire and passion. His poems were very numerous and varied. He sang the heroic deeds of the Persian wars, the praise of heroes and great men, and composed songs for the festivals, hymns, dance-songs, triumphal odes, and many others.

But Simonides had a rival who, more fortunate in the preservation of his works, has thrown the fame of his predecessor into the shade, at least in later times, and this rival was Pindar. A Boiotian by birth, but trained in the Attic school, Pindar stands as the brilliant star in the evening-sky of Greek lyric song. Born 522 B. C., he was a contemporary of Aischylos, the first great poet of the new epoch—the dramatic. Almost as many-sided as Simonides, he sang in manly tones and with a wealth of noble thoughts all matters of public or private life that asked celebration in song. As with Simonides, his compositions were engaged and paid for. He surpassed the earlier poet in true poetic power, in higher flights of imagination, and in the bolder and richer construction of his odes, which indeed, from this very cause, contain not a few intricacies of thought and expression by no means easy to understand. Of



DEPARTURE OF MEDEA.

his many compositions only those remain in which he celebrated the victors in the public games. These "epinikian odes," as they are called, were sung in chorus at the nocturnal celebration; or perhaps at the festival with which the victor on his return was honoured by his city. The custom continued, but no second poet like Pindar arose. The tragedy, now coming to perfection in Athens, enlisted all that was greatest of poetic genius.

The drama, which, as a new, and the highest branch of poetic art, had now thrust lyric poetry completely into the background, did not, it is true, originate in Athens, but it was there that it first attained complete development, and there alone it found its great poets. Growing with the growth of Athens, accompanying its political supremacy, and declining with its decline, the drama, tragedy and comedy, is the special poetry of Attika.

One branch of poesy grows out of another, and the drama grew from the lyric. Where Dionysos the god of wine was honoured, his festivals were celebrated with choral songs, or dithyramb, in which the wondrous adventures of the god, his woes and his joys, were sung in appropriate verse. The leader of the chorus represented the god, and the singers his companions, the satyrs and the rest of the Bacchic crew. Thus it had long been in Sikyon, in Attika, and wherever else the dithyramb was known. In this form there was already a kind of dialogue, but in song only: it was necessary that proper speech—conversation—should be added, and that the whole be freed from the myth of Dionysos, and the poet be allowed free choice of a subject, before the dithyramb could become the drama. The last had already been done in Sikyon, but the introduction of speech was due to Thespis of Attika, whom we may call the first tragic poet. He brought forward the first actor, who took the part of the hero, and entered into discourse with the chorus and its leader. But not until Aischylos added the second actor, did tragedy so far cut loose from the lyric as to be a complete drama. To these two actors Sophokles added a third; and thus the complete drama was an Athenian production.

But for all this, tragedy still retained much of its origin. The chorus with its song remained, and gave moments of rest and pause to the action, filling up, so to speak, the *entr'actes*; but this chorus was not merely a company of spectators, but took a part, sympathetically or practically, in the action. The drama remained in connexion with Dionysos to the extent that the representations were only given at his festivals; but the god himself and all his crew were banished from it, and the subject was taken from the events of myth, tradition, or even of history. As a sort of indemnification, however, the satyric drama was introduced, a kind of tragi-comedy, or indeed half-farce, in which satyrs were the actors, which was always given after the tragedies, and served to bring the spectators back from the tragic mood to Bacchic hilarity.

The arrangement of the theatre also, which, now that the drama was fully formed, became a permanent building, had many reminiscences of its origin. In the year 500 B. C., the temporary wooden structure which had served for the purpose fell down, and was replaced, after the Persian war, with a building of stone. Many states followed this example and erected permanent stages. The theatre at Athens, the stage of Aischylos, Sophokles, and Euripides, with its vast auditorium accommodating the whole body of male citizens, or more than twenty thousand spectators, took its general shape soon after the fall of the wooden theatre; but it did not receive its perfect form until it was completed by the orator Lykurgos, about the time of Alexander the Great. Excavations made at the site have brought to light remains of buildings added in the time of the Roman emperors.

The theatre was open to the sky. The rows of seats, like those of an amphitheatre,

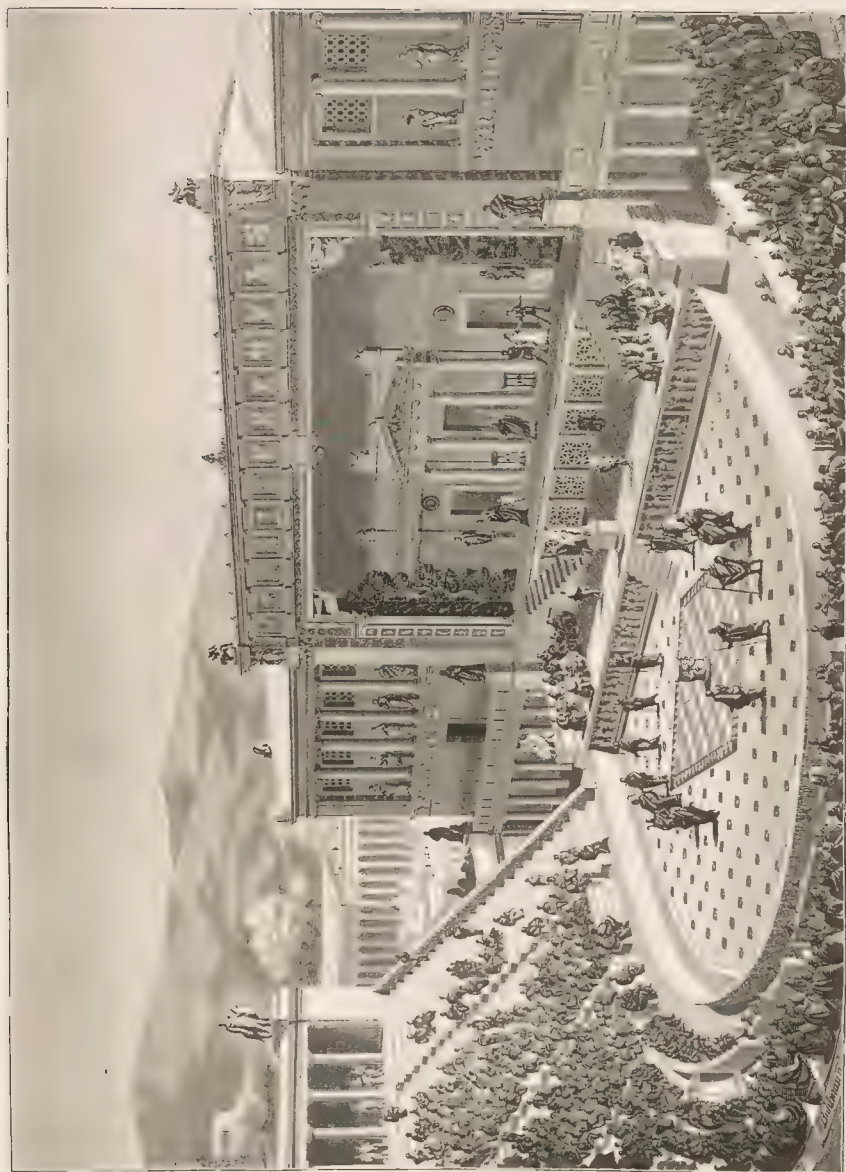
GREECE.

were arranged in a semicircle, and traversed by radiating gangways. In the lower rows sat the dignitaries of the state, and the judges who decided on the merits of the pieces. Before them lay, as in the lyric performances, the semicircular, or semi-elliptic orchestra, with the *thymele* as an altar or monument in the middle. The orchestra was the place of the chorus, which there executed its movements, or took its place at the thymele. Immediately behind this, but more elevated, was the proscenium, a long rectangle of slight depth, open toward the spectators, but closed on the other three sides, the back being the stage, which rose as high as the topmost range of seats in the auditorium. The walls surrounding the stage served for scenes, and indicated the nature of the locality, whether it was a landscape, a desert, or, as was more usual, a palace. In the latter case it was never the interior of the building that was represented, but only the vestibule or portico. Any action taking place in the interior—and everything tending to excite a feeling of horror, which the Greeks liked not to see, was represented as occurring within—might be seen, in its effects only, through the open doors. In the wings stood scenes in the form of trilateral prisms, by giving which a partial turn on a vertical axis, a change of scene was indicated; a simple and almost symbolic proceeding. And yet it was the stage and its needs that developed to a certain extent both the perspective and the decorative elements of painting; nor were there lacking machinery and contrivances by means of which thunder and lightning were imitated, apparitions arose from the earth, or the intervening deity, the *deus ex machina*, came down from the skies and again ascended.

We can not suppose that there was any very deceptive reality about these dramatic performances; nor indeed did the Attic tragedy aim at representing the truth of nature. It was in itself something extraordinary, a part of the Bacchic festival, which in its very nature was outside the ordinary routine of life, and was meant to excite and inspire men's minds. So the players were neither in garb nor speech, persons of real life. The *colthurni*, or buskins worn, raised them above the ordinary stature of humanity, and their hips and shoulders were made correspondingly wider; long robes of bright colours and richly embroidered, the considerable expense of which was borne by wealthy individuals, fell in gorgeous masses to their feet; masks covered their faces, masks with a tragic expression, and wide openings for the mouth and eyes, which of course prevented all play of features, but this could not have been distinguished in its delicacy at so great a distance. Through the opening of the mask the speech is supposed to have had a deep hollow sound, audible throughout the immense auditorium.

The character of the Greek tragedy in its older form, as in the work of Aischylos, the first great dramatic poet, is lofty, pathetic, intentionally lifted high above the level of ordinary life; it has a religious character corresponding to the festival, and corresponding also to the time to which the poet belonged. Aischylos, born at Eleusis 525 B. C., was one of the patriotic soldiers of Marathon, as the proud inscription on his tomb recorded. He represents the old Athens of the Persian wars, a defender of ancient custom and order, and an antagonist of the growing democracy. Pious and believing, as the old Athenians were, he sees in all the course of events the guidance of the gods, the mighty hand of Zeus, who justly and wisely directs the dark ways of destiny.

At the time of Aischylos it was the custom that the poet contending for the prize of tragedy—a wreath—brought upon the stage three pieces forming a series, to which a satyric play was added as a fourth. In the work of Aischylos the three pieces which formed a "trilogy" had one and the same fundamental thought, and the same subject, or subjects



THEATRE OF DIONYSOS AT ATHENS.

Restored from recent excavations. To the left, above the spectators' seats, part of the inclosing colonnade. In the foreground, the orchestra with the thymele, then the proscenium, and beyond, the stage with its wings.

POETRY.

nearly related, so that they constituted, as it were, the acts of one great tragedy. Thus he treated the great and ancient strife between Europe and Asia, Hellenes and Barbarians, in a trilogy, of which the central piece, the defeat of Xerxes, or rather the lamentations over this defeat at the court of Susa, has been preserved in his *Persai*. Thus he set forth that most



SOPHOKLES
In the Lateran Museum.

tragic of themes, the murder of Agamemnon and its fatal consequences down to the pacification of the Eumenides, in three pieces forming the trilogy known as the *Oresteia*, the only one of his trilogies that has been preserved entire. It was his last work in Athens.

Sophokles, his younger rival and successor (495-406 B. C.), loosed the bond of the trilogy, treating each piece independently. In this way he was able—and this was a further step in the development of the drama—to give a more significant and lively action to each separate piece, in which he introduced a third actor. Thus the proper dramatic element was increased, while the lyric—the chorus—was lessened, and the characters gained in individuality. He soon departed from the pathetic tone and tragic loftiness of Aischylos; and as the dialogue increased in importance, he brought the speech nearer to that of ordinary men, without, how-

GREECE.

ever, introducing incidents or persons of every-day life. Not a believer such as Aischylos was, he threw more into the background the controlling hand of the divinity, and placed the conflict in the human soul, in the strife of passions or of laws, so that each side seemed to have its justification, which, firmly maintained, could not but lead to a tragic conclusion. Thus in the *Antigone*, the earliest of his preserved dramas, and perhaps the best of them and of all, the demands of the state and the duties of the family are placed in irreconcilable antagonism.

Sophokles depicted men as they should be; Euripides, men as they are. This is the last step down from the sublime heights of Aischylos, from the lofty cothurnus to the level ground of reality. Sophokles, in his wise and moderate attitude, resting in firm morality, stands still



SCENE FROM A COMEDY.

above the life of his time; but Euripides, his younger contemporary (who did not survive him, 482-407 B. C.), stands in the very midst of it. He had been a disciple of the rhetoricians and sophists, and was saturated with their teachings; he spoke the tongue of the market and the court; and in his hands the old myths were material to be handled at pleasure. Thus he divested heroes and heroines of their divinity or their majesty, gave them human weaknesses, and placed them in narrow and humiliating situations. He filled his dramas with surprising actions and incidents, and where the inner conflict would bring a tragic catastrophe, he would suddenly call in the aid of the *deus ex machina*, who descended upon the stage and cut the knot. This was a favourite device of his. Yet, notwithstanding, is Euripides a poet of the highest gifts, who in his better dramas exhibits such grandeur in the delineation of passion that Aristotle could call him the most tragic of all poets. So we find him in the *Medea*, in Phaidra revenging her slighted love, or the frantic Bacchantes tearing to pieces the enemy of their god.



IPHIGENEIA IN TAURIS

POETRY.

None of the later poets reached this power; and indeed they hardly deserved it, for the later tragedy, corresponding to the growing passion for litigation among the Athenians, rather resembled a contest in a court of justice, than an affecting picture of human passion and divine commands. There was no lack of poets; Aristophanes compares them to a flock of swallows twittering in the grove of the Muses. Indeed it became a sort of fashion for men of culture, whatever their vocation, to compose tragedies, and bring at least one or two upon the stage. But, following the example of Euripides, the strife of words grew to be the leading feature, while action and the development of character were less considered. This verbal conflict became a kind of match of wits, and was conducted in the quibbling style of the lawyers. Thus the tragedy lost more and more its proper interest; it became more and more a closet-drama, to be read, not acted. True, in this way the poets still found themselves rivalled by the three great masters, whose works continued to be read, when they were no longer brought upon the stage; and to this cause it is due that of them alone do we possess complete works.

A similar fate befel the Attic comedy, which, though not of later origin than the tragedy, yet in its development is usually one generation behind it. Comedy also is of Bacchic origin, the offspring of that wild mirth which the god of wine inspires. In Attika, in autumn, were celebrated the lesser Dionysia, the proper vintage-feast. It was celebrated with various mummeries, and with wild pranks and jokes, whose boldness and license were excused by the god. A great feast also was held the *Komos*—accompanied with choral singing (whence comes the name *komoidia*, komos-song) in which jokes were made upon all present. Out of this choral song grew the comedy, as did the tragedy from the dithyramb. From this festival it took its wild mirth, and under the protection of the god it ventured on the extravagant license and audacity of personal attack that still astonish us in Aristophanes.

But comedy long remained an obscure child of the village. In the time of the Peisistratidai, whose *tyrannis* would not have tolerated its audacious attacks, it did not venture into the city. Only when tragedy was complete, about the time of the Persian wars, the state took comedy under its protection, gave it the stage and needful means for representation. If the chorus and the actors of tragedy appeared in rare and splendid costumes, so those of comedy presented the most grotesque figures, in caricature-masks, with enormous paunches, or whatever other burlesque attributes the comic fancy might suggest as appropriate to the personage. In such inventions comedy knew no limit; it might bring its chorus on the stage as clouds, birds, wasps; or if not in absolute representation, at least in a costume that indicated the character; it sent Trygaios flying up to heaven on the back of an enormous dung-beetle to bring down the goddess of Peace; despatched Dionysos with Herakles to the underworld; and set the Birds to building an ideal city in the clouds.

Though comedy entered Athens in the beginning of the fifth century B. C., it did not flourish until its end. It would seem as if for the development of its untrammelled freedom, the complete democracy was needed; but it also needed the demagogues, as the butts against which it aimed its keenest shafts of wit and indignation; and these were the objects which called out the full causticity of its satire. At the first glance, this comedy seems to know nothing holy, nothing venerable; nothing is great enough or mighty enough to have any terrors for it. With its ridicule it smites and annihilates the gods of Olympus and the great ones of earth; everything lofty or conspicuous awakens its mockery and scorn; it knows no morality in action, no decency in language, which indeed oversteps all bounds in its frankness and

GREECE.



POSEIDIPPUS
Statue in the Vatican.

coarseness. And yet this is only an appearance. It is true that the so-called Old Comedy avails itself to the utmost of the license of the Bacchic festival; but despite all this, it rests upon the firm foundation of morality, and has a solid place in the political life of the state. It sets itself firmly in opposition to all that is false and perverted, to innovators and seducers of the people, and combats for ancient right and morality.

This is emphatically true of Aristophanes, the only comic poet of this period of whom any complete works have been preserved. Born at Athens 452 B. C., he began his career as poet in the year 427, and in 388 brought his last comedy on the stage. His rich humour surpasses all limits, his invention is inexhaustible, grotesque fancies follow one another in his comedies as if in some intoxicated vision; his wit knows no fear, and his language no restraint. He contended for the old Athens against the demagogues and sophists; he is enthusiastic for the warriors of Marathon and their time; he admires Aischylos, and hates Euripides. In his *Knights* he brings Kleon, then in the height of his popularity and power, on the stage, and mauls him as no demagogue was ever mauled before or since. In his *Clouds* he scourges the sophists who with their disintegrating doctrines were corrupting the young; though it is true that he here attacks Sokrates as their supposed head. The *Acharnians* and *Peace* are directed against the war party; the *Birds* was levelled at the hare-brained folly of the Athenians, who just then (414) had set on foot the Sicilian expedition; the *Wasps* against the lawyers and litigation; while the *Thesmophoriazusai* and the *Frogs*, are pieces of literary criticism, aimed chiefly at Euripides.

This last direction, the literary, was that which, after the death of Aristophanes,

POETRY.

chiefly gave its character to the so-called Middle Comedy. It would seem as if Athens, after the disasters of the Peloponnesian war, could no longer bear the sharpness and boldness of the Old Comedy; and, moreover, literary interests increased in Athens as the political declined. The comedy, therefore, taking this direction, occupied itself in the fourth century *B. C.*, down to about the time of Alexander, chiefly with matters of interest in the literary world. In addition to this, it chastised general foibles and follies of life, and in both kept within the bounds of a safe criticism. But this position also it forsook in its third epoch, that of the New Comedy, whose chief is considered Menander, and next to him Poseidippos. This New Comedy takes private life as its subject; it treats of love and the love-adventures of young men, of intrigues which usually end in marriage. It has its standing characters; the rapacious hetaire, the enamoured youth entangled in her snares, the slave as accomplice and intriguer, the parasite, the hectoring soldier—all types of personages in the time of Alexander the Great. This comedy cast off the chorus, and indeed everything else which preserved the memory of its Bacchic origin. It ties the knots of the plot, sets the intrigue at work, entangles the action, and finally conducts the whole to a conclusion.

This is the new Attic comedy, and it is the modern comedy. In this form it was transferred to Rome. Plautus and Terence, from whose extant works we know what the Roman comedy was, transplanted it from Greece with all its Attic character, with the entire Athenian outfit of personages and action, and with this form the Romans were satisfied.



MENANDER
Statue in the Vatican.



PARNASSOS.

3.

PROSE LITERATURE: HISTORY, ORATORY, PHILOSOPHY.



UNDREDS of years passed while poetry was the sole literature of Greece. It had already developed all its forms when the Greek became conscious that the speech of daily life also might become a means for giving written permanence to thought. This was done simultaneously in two distinct forms—history and philosophy. The spirit, awaking to serious thought from the fugitive life of the hour, and the visionary life of poetry, began ever more and more to inquire into the conditions of its existence, the past which lay behind it, and the phenomena of nature around and above it.

Again the impulse came from the Ionians, that alert and versatile population of the coast of Asia Minor, which awakened all Greek culture and left its development to the mother-land. The priests, doubtless, in various places, had

kept records of events, but these were not intended for publicity. Kadmos of Miletos was the first, who about 540 B. C. wrote a historical work, a narrative of the founding of his native city. He was followed by a series of writers, the *logographoi*, as they were called: Hekataios, Hellanikos, Pherekydes, Chares, some giving the ethnographical and geographical results of their travels, and others reciting in prose the myths of the poets. But their recitals were jejune and inartistic, void of all grace, and with no design of pleasing, or producing an effect like that of poetry.

Then came Herodotos, called the Father of History, a Dorian from Halikarnassos, but an Ionian by education, who was the first to perceive that history also should be a work of art, and as such appeal to the emotions as well as the intellect. Born 484 B. C., he had in his youth taken a conspicuous part in political affairs, when, seized with the spirit of investigation, he travelled through all the lands known to the Greeks, and thus obtained a knowledge of foreign policy and of the world, and at the same time collected a mass of details concerning the various peoples whom he had visited. With a mind thus stored, he began at a somewhat advanced age, living for a while in Athens, and finally in Thurioi, to record all that he had seen, learned, and experienced. Starting with the great antagonism between Asia and Europe, the Barbarians and the Hellenes, he connects by this thread all the events that had occurred in those distant lands to the east of the Mediterranean. Thus he was, above all, the historian of the Persian wars, a historian penetrated with the love of truth, unpartisan, even critical, though still with a childish fondness for whatever is strange and marvellous. Like a garrulous man of many experiences, he takes pleasure in telling his story, which is smooth and naïve, but full of life and colour, gliding from sentence to sentence without artifice and without regular design.

Very different was it with his great successor the Athenian Thukydides, who became the historian of the Peloponnesian war. He wrote after the close of that struggle, when the sophists had established their schools of rhetoric in Athens and were teaching the artistic use of language. The development of prose which thus began was not without influence upon Thukydides; but it only taught him to take pains with his language and his style, without his attaining perfect clarity in either. He carefully selects his words, and is often happy in his phrase; he builds up his periods not inartistically, and yet, despite his care, his style is often cumbrous and his language obscure. Not in these lies his greatness, but in the conduct and contents of his work, in which for the first time we see history an artistic production, a work of unity and completeness. For this reason he selects from the history of his time the Peloponnesian war alone, which he looks upon as the greatest and most momentous event of all time, and only this will he narrate. Himself a statesman of the age and of the school of Perikles, he passes the events in review with the comprehensive glance of his hero, and calmly lets facts tell their own story. But they do not tell their own story only; here for the first time we find pragmatic history. As a statesman he recognises the connexion of all events, the efficient causes and their results; as a judge of men he detects the leading motives in individuals, studies their characters and notes their passions, while the orator in him, as is shown in the speeches scattered through the history, disentangles with penetrating acuteness and perfect lucidity the confusion of threads with persons as well as things. No period of history has ever found so complete an exposition.

These great qualities did not exist in his countryman Xenophon; who, in his *Hellenic History*, attempted a continuation of the work of Thukydides. Xenophon was no statesman, and did not stand with calm unbiassed judgment above the parties and events of his time.

He was a man of party and of active life, which had in singular ways drifted him, the Athenian, to be a friend of the Spartans. As a companion of the younger Cyrus and friend of Agesilaos he had made campaigns in Asia rather like the adventurous leader of a band of free lances than a general. The recital of his experiences has rather the character of memoirs than of history; and this is applicable to his best works, the *Retreat of the Ten Thousand* from Asia, and his *Reminiscences of Sokrates*. In his historical writing he does not take the elevated position of Thukydidēs, but what especially distinguishes it is the perfect Attic tongue, the simple, clear, easy and smoothly flowing stream of speech. In this respect Xenophon was regarded as a model by the Athenians themselves. So far as mere language is concerned, in him we have the perfection of historical presentation.

This could now only sink or widen; higher it could not go. At first it widened, under the influence of oratory, which at that time had developed an artistic style. Theopompos, a pupil of the orator Isokrates, and himself an accomplished orator, lifted history from the memoir style of Xenophon, and gave it wider scope than it had hitherto possessed. In his *Philippics* he attempted a sort of universal history, and history of civilization at the same time, as he brought art, science, and social relations into his narrative. But his language was no more the simple, easy, natural Attic speech: the historian could not forget the orator. At times we find him pedantically polishing his style, at others, striving for strength and dignity he becomes pathetic and even lofty; but he evidently depends too much upon an art almost too refined.

Theopompos had companions and imitators, but not long. During the Alexandrian period, when Alexandria was the headquarters of literature and science, prose writing declined, and ceased to be an art. There was no longer an ambition to write and speak well and beautifully; men grew indifferent to form, and aimed at nothing higher than a clever expression of the thought. Erudition and criticism, instead of artistic presentation, were now the fashion. There were not even statesmen to be found who, with the wisdom of experience and from the elevation of their position, could give an impressive recital of the events of their time. Only when Hellas itself had fallen, do we find in the Achaian Polybios a historian who rises to the level of the ancients; but this historian, who had lived long in Rome, in association with illustrious Romans, took a new point of view, and what he wrote was Roman history.

We have already spoken of the influence of oratory; and when the growth of Attic prose literature is in question, the orators must take a foremost place. This merit belongs chiefly to the rhetoricians; but the sophists also have a share in it that we must not ignore. The more the democracy grew and perfected itself in Athens, the more did oratory become an important, almost a necessary part of a liberal education. The Athenians needed it in the courts, in the council, in the popular assembly; and in law and politics every one took part. With this importance, oratory rapidly advanced from a necessity to an art and a branch of literature.

At first the oration was simple and plain. Even Perikles, though called "the Olympian," who shook Greece with his eloquence, belonged to those calm speakers who used no gestures nor motions, and scarcely exhibited any play of countenance. He aimed not at speaking beautifully, but at convincing his hearers; and he did this by the wealth of pure and lofty thought expressed with logical force, precision, and lucidity, by his high and noble aims, but above all, by the power of his grand and pre-eminent personality. He never flattered, never allowed himself to be carried away by passion, but remained always great, true, and dignified. He had the might of eloquence, but his oratory was not an art.

This power of Perikles was coveted and eagerly sought by many less favoured by nature. To satisfy this demand a school arose in which the first teachers were the sophists, who, sceptics in regard to religion and philosophy, as teachers of eloquence may claim positive merits for the development of the language and of oratory. The first who opened with success a school of oratory in Athens, was Gorgias the Leontine. He had come to Athens in the year 427 B. C., as an ambassador from Sicily, where the oratorical art had already acquired a certain professional development in advance of the mother-country. His style was admired, and became the fashion in Athens, and a crowd of pupils gathered around him. He taught them, after the sophists' fashion, to attack or to defend either side of a cause; he taught them to manage their language, to attend to rhythm, intonation and euphony, and to construct periods in a certain symmetry according to certain rules. But the teaching of Gorgias had its weaknesses and perversions. As the speech was to have the sonorous charm of poetry or of music, he selected or manufactured poetical and resonant words, which too often became mere empty phrases or hollow pathos, a style that was nicknamed "Gorgiasizing." In this way an affected mannerism became attached to the earliest technique of the art.

His successors, the proper rhetoricians, renounced this empty pathos, but they carried out further the formal development of the oration. These rhetoricians, who made oratory their special business, not only opened schools which were attended by the youth of all Greek lands, but also wrote orations for others to deliver in pleading their own causes. Thus there arose a class of speech-writers, through whom the oration, hitherto only a necessity of legal proceedings or of political life, now became an object of itself, and an important branch of literature. Many Attic orations of this kind have been preserved for us.

Among these rhetoricians who composed orations and trained orators, though they seldom, if ever, themselves spoke, Lysias was the one who in comparison used the simplest and least ornate language, though by no means neglecting the artistic use of words. Isokrates, on the other hand, the most admired and renowned of these teachers, went furthest in the direction of the sophists. With him the oration, carefully and symmetrically built up of organic parts, and full of harmony in the sound, became a genuine work of art. The whole was like an architectural construction, and so again was each period in itself, with all the parts pedantically arranged to have similar intonations, and measured symmetry.

Thus oratory had been brought to a technical perfection which could not be exceeded; and this perfection had no slight influence on the Attic speech of daily life and of literature. But as those who had brought it to this completeness stood personally more or less aloof from public life, so in this oratory the inner life was wanting; its merits were all external and its art artificiality. Those had to come who should pour the glowing metal into this graceful but hollow mould, fill it with fervid life, and in so doing burst the artificial trammels which the pedantry of the schools had forged. And they came—the orators of the time of Philip, the statesmen and chiefs of party, who dealt with interests more momentous than the wrangling of the courts—such men as Lykurgos, Hyperides, Aischines, and above all, Demosthenes.

Aischines, it is true, the partisan of King Philip and antagonist of Demosthenes, had obtained his training outside of the school. Nature had endowed him with such eminent oratorical gifts that he could dispense with artificial training; though it is probable that his earlier calling of an actor was of advantage to him. Otherwise was it with Demosthenes, whom nature seems to have denied all the other gifts of the orator, except the fiery soul and the iron will. But he had resolved to be an orator, and he surpassed all the rest. His head, a head of

GREECE.

strongly-marked character, and hardly of the antique type, though stamped with the antique spirit, shows in the massy brow the deep thought, and in the lines about the firmly-closed mouth the energetic will and invincible perseverance. From his youth the ideal of the orator had stood before him. To attain it he overcame all difficulties; he exchanged his natural timidity for courage that nothing could daunt; he ennobled his awkward carriage and ungraceful gestures; he conquered the difficulty of his speech, gave power to his lungs, and made his weak and imperfect organ, strong, enduring and sonorous. His labours to attain this result are recorded in many anecdotes.

Demosthenes united in himself all the eminent qualities of his predecessors. Formed by the teachings of Isaios, he was familiar with all the technical part of oratory, and had acquired an exact knowledge of Attic law; so that in formal training he was inferior to none. But that he surpassed them all he owed to the intense sincerity of his convictions, his earnestness of purpose, the passion of his character, and his ardent patriotism. Among the mediocre personages who had hitherto guided Athens, to whom oratory had

old; and in Philip of Makedon an antagonist had arisen with whom their power and will were too weak to cope. At Chaironeia, Athens and Demosthenes were defeated at once. Once more, after the death of Alexander, he attempted to excite a revolt of Athens and of Greece, but in vain; and his death on the island Kalauria (321 B. C.), paid the penalty of the attempt.

The times which followed, down to the final loss of Greek freedom, were not of a nature to produce great orators. The eloquence of Demetrios of Phalereus, who for some years guided the policy of Athens, was much praised; but it was the last after-glow of a great time. The orators had perished, and only the schools remained, to which, at a later period, the young Romans came to learn eloquence; and this branch also of Greek culture was transplanted to Rome.

The absorption into the Roman world and Roman culture was also the fate of that branch which, if not the most delicate flower of the Hellenic spirit, must be looked upon as its freest



DEMOSTHENES
Bust in the Vatican.

been an elegant dilettantism, there now stepped suddenly a glowing soul, a man of intense earnestness and of impressive power. It was as if one of those mighty ones who guided Athens in her golden days had arisen from the tomb. The Athenians, hostile at first, could not long resist the potent influence; and Demosthenes led their hearts, almost despite themselves, into bold and patriotic paths. As strong and pure a spirit as Perikles, he was not in like measure favoured by fortune. The Athenians, and indeed the Greeks generally of this time, were no longer the Greeks of

and latest intellectual creation—philosophy. The brief consideration we can give to this can, of course, only serve to note its position in the history of civilization, as indeed our previous sketches of art and literature have this purpose alone.

Greek philosophy is, in one aspect, an act of liberation—the liberation of the Hellenic mind from the national religious traditions that had become no longer tenable; and this is the point of its origin. But once free, this philosophy seeks beyond itself for the truth respecting God and the world, to take the place of the discredited creed. But it became more than this—more than a mere substitute for religious faith; it transcended the limits of pure thought, and entered into practical life. Its aims were to make men better, to give systems for the government of states, and their guidance according to its own principles and spirit. If it failed in this attempt, it still went far beyond the bounds of an esoteric knowledge, and became a common property of intelligence and a necessity for all who occupied themselves with public affairs.

As before intimated, the Ionians were the first who made a complete rupture with tradition. Unfettered by theological doctrines, they sought to explain the world of phenomena in natural ways; not experimentally, it is true, for this mode of investigation was never at home in Greece. They sought for a primordial cause and a primordial matter out of which the universe might have arisen. Thales supposed this matter to have been water; Anaximenes, the air; while Anaximander held that there was an indefinite and infinite primeval substance, from which the universe had sprung. These, however, were speculations rather than explanations; and to some they appeared too material, and these demanded a higher and spiritual cause. This cause the Pythagoreans found in Number, correctly perceiving that harmonious relations, which may be reduced to numerical expression, underlie all things. But the Pythagoreans failed to explain how from Number the world of phenomena arose. To this world of transitoriness the Eleatics opposed an endless Being; but both—the world and Being remained distinct. Herakleitos denied Being, and admitted only an endless Becoming and Perishing, a perpetual flux; while Empedokles maintained the co-existence of Being and Becoming. Anaxagoras, finally, abandoning the physical path, placed, outside of the world of phenomena, a spirit, an orderer of the universe; but this orderer he could never fit into the order; he remained a *deus ex machina*, called in to solve a difficulty, and then dismissed again.

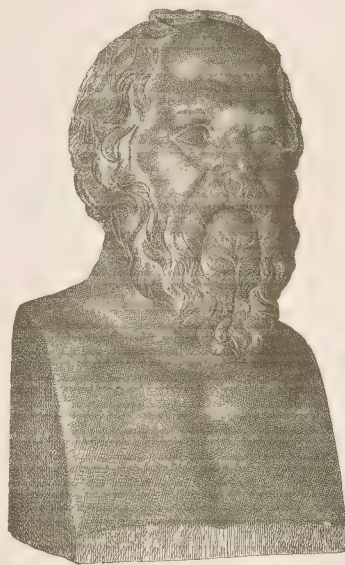
Thus far all the attempts of the first philosophers at clearing up the mystery of the universe had failed. They had only led to the knowledge that what was sought had not been found. But they had also another result. Doubt had become alive; men's minds grew restless and began to shake off the doctrines they had accepted. Already there were those who desired to construct everything in conformity with reason, the architecture of houses and the plans of cities, the dress of men and the constitutions of states. These were enthusiasts and theorists; but some philosophers really took an active part in public life, such as Parmenides, who became the lawgiver of the state of Elea. Nay, the Pythagoreans ruled for a considerable time a number of Greek states of southern Italy, and ruled them wisely and nobly, in the path of moral improvement and elevation, until the opposite party overthrew this, in the best sense, aristocratic rule, and persecuted and banished the Pythagoreans. This was the end of philosophical experiments in practical government; experiments which remained experiments merely, and were only of local importance.

But another fruit of the newly awakened philosophical studies had deeper influence upon both public and private life. This was the sophists, teachers of wisdom, as they called themselves, a class of philosophers, but a class that sprang out of negations and the failure of all attempts to solve the great mysteries. As no positive results had been attained, they

GREECE.

drew the conclusion that all these studies were futile. Man alone, said Protagoras, is the measure of all things; that is, all their value and importance depend upon his estimation; and for him they are only what he holds or wishes them to be. This principle, brought to bear upon actual life, tended to bring religion, government, morality, everything, in question; and this was the actual result.

The sophists made their appearance in Athens about the time of Perikles, all coming as itinerant teachers from abroad. They came, it is true, not with the declared intent to overthrow received opinions and the established order of things, but as teachers of wisdom and eloquence. They may also claim the merit of having aroused much activity in scientific studies in Athens. But the disintegrating action of their philosophical doctrines soon became apparent. As it was especially the young men of distinction and wealth that gathered about them—their teachings being expensive—their radical spirit soon entered into public as well as private life, like a dissolving poison. The severance of all links binding the present to the past; unbelief, frivolity, and scorn became the fashion of those



SOKRATES
Bust in the Vatican.

whose duty it was to sustain and guide the state.

It is true, the great mass of the Athenians who still believed in the gods and held to ancient traditions and usages received the sophists with great aversion; but they had no means with which to combat them. From the midst of themselves, or at least from the realm of philosophy, the champion had to come who exposed their futility, and slew them with their own weapons. This antagonist of the sophists was Sokrates.

Uncomely of appearance, with a Silenus-face, poor and of humble station, despising wealth and show, this man went about among the Athenians, yet was a man apart. He was a sculptor by profession, but worked little or not at all in his art; his only business was to learn and teach; though all his public duties, in peace and war, he discharged faultlessly. On the field he was the bravest and coolest soldier, and no one surpassed him in the endurance of toil, hunger, heat or cold. He contemned luxury, used only the simplest fare, but when he sat at a festive banquet played his part well, and was the last to leave the carouse, with head cool and gait as steady as ever. No one could boast of ever having overcome Sokrates, in battle, in drinking, or in discourse.

Discourse was his forte, but not as the sophists and rhetoricians understood it. His discourse was talk, the art of conversation and dialectic. Starting with questions springing out of the simplest and most ordinary matters of life, he knew how to lead men imperceptibly



DEATH OF SOKRATES.

along his path, and thus either with light irony convince them of their ignorance, or elicit thoughts of wisdom which had unconsciously slumbered within them. This was the Sokratic method, his "obstetric art" as he called it. The ideas which he thus evoked formed no special philosophic system: he had none such and desired none. His aims were ethical rather than speculative; and his object was to make men better and lead them to higher things. To attain this end he first destroyed their empty conceits of wisdom, which he replaced with a faith in noble principles, in virtue, piety, morality, fidelity and immortality. He himself believed in the gods, consulted the oracle, which declared him the wisest of the Greeks, and offered sacrifices. What he taught, that he practised: doctrine and life in him were one.

No just charge could be brought against him. But in his long life he had made many enemies. When he convinced any one, as often happened, of the hollowness of his pretended knowledge, and of his real ignorance, the man too often never forgave him. The mass of the people, firmly attached to old use and wont, regarded him as one of the sophistical innovators; and as such Aristophanes brought him upon the stage in his *Clouds*. The democrats laid it to his charge that out of his school had come profligates like Alkibiades, and oligarchic tyrants like Kritias. When, after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants from Athens, calumny and persecution had full swing, Sokrates also was brought to trial before the Dikastery, by his enemies, who accused him of apostasy from the ancestral religion, of the introduction of new gods, and the corruption of youth. Conscious of his innocence and of his real desert, he despised the usual style of defence, which might have saved him, and was condemned by a small majority. But when he declared that instead of the punishment of death, he rather deserved the highest civic reward, he only embittered his judges, and rendered his fate certain. He was willing to accept death as the seal of his life and his teaching; and thus, seventy years old (399 B. C.), he drained the cup of hemlock, calm and cheerful, in the midst of his disciples and friends, to whom he had just demonstrated the immortality of the soul.

The disciples whom Sokrates had gathered about him from various parts of Greece were a numerous company. While he lived they formed a kind of sect, but at his death it fell to pieces. There was no one at the moment of sufficient influence and ability to hold them together; and as Sokrates had founded no system which could bind them in a spiritual union, each went his own way according to his own character or position in life. Some adhered to his form of instruction, and developed further the dialectic method, as did Eukleides the Megarian. Others held rather to the eudaimonistic side of his doctrine, and placed the happiness of the individual as the goal of philosophy; but this goal they sought in diverse ways. Aristippos of Kyrene, the founder of the Kyrenaic school, was a man of the world, and looked upon philosophy as the art of life. It should, he taught, provide for its disciples the highest possible enjoyment; but he did not understand this enjoyment in the common material sense, but assumed the highest culture of mind as an essential part of it. Antisthenes, a rough and somewhat morose man, followed the same object, but he sought happiness in the precisely opposite direction, in the complete renunciation of all worldliness, in voluntary poverty, in absolute freedom from every necessity. Teaching in the gymnasium Kynosarges, he founded the school of the so-called Cynics, who thence took their name; though they partly merited the epithet of "cynic," or "dog-like," from their habits of life. At least Antisthenes' famous disciple, Diogenes of Sinope, called "the dog" (*Kyon*), carried renunciation so far that he lived in a great tub of clay, despising the vanities and deriding the folly of the world.

All these carried out, each in his own way, but one side of the master's teachings, and

scarcely any in a way that Sokrates would himself have approved. Of all the disciples the only one who comprehended the master entirely and accurately, and bore out his doctrines to completion, was the Athenian Plato. But he did not only bring all the Sokratic doctrines into one; he completed to a certain extent all precedent philosophy, taking from it its fruitful thoughts, and working all into his own. He was twenty years old when, as a young poet, he made the acquaintance of Sokrates, and thenceforth he never left him for nine years, until the master's death. After this event, his thirst for knowledge drove him to travel; he had a longing for universal completeness—to inquire into everything and to know everything. Thus he went to Egypt, to Kyrene, where an eminent mathematician was working, to lower Italy, where he made friends with the Pythagoreans, and then to Sicily. After an absence of twelve years he returned, opened a philosophical school in the grove of the Academy, and conducted it for forty years, until his death.

The philosophy of Plato had also the ethical purpose of elevating men, making them better and more perfect. He held that in every man dwelt an inspiration for a higher life, since the immortal soul, before it had been fettered to the body, had beheld the primordial types of all existence, and the memory of these, more or less distinct, never ceased to affect the soul, giving it its love of beauty, its longing for perfection, and striving toward the divine. Of all things of this material world Plato assumed that there were such primordial types, "ideas," existing without it, perfect and eternal, such as the idea of Beauty, Goodness, Justice, Virtue; the highest idea being God, who as the individual soul had descended into the world of materiality, ruling and ordering it. To become like these ideas, and so to attain a higher life, was the true vocation, as it was the inward impulse of man. But to attain this end the soul must be curbed and guided, and this was the task of philosophy, of dialectic, which purified men, led them from the low to the lofty, from the material and sensual to the spiritual, to virtue and to knowledge. Philosophy therefore was a necessity, and most of all for those who were to be teachers of men and leaders of the state. The state itself should be permeated with philosophy. Thus Plato drew up and committed to writing a complete theory of politics, and built up his Republic on rational principles. Indeed, in conjunction with the younger Dionysios, tyrant of Syracuse, he made the attempt to realize his ideal of a philosophical state; but life and philosophy were too widely divergent, and the human heart not pure enough nor free enough from passions to allow the success of this ideal scheme.

Plato preserved from his master not merely the tendency of his doctrines, but the dialectic method, or instruction in the form of conversation. Like Sokrates, he followed the progression from the simple to the higher, letting one thought give birth to another; but he developed the dialogue to a literary form, a form of art, which thenceforth became permanent in literature and science. In another respect also he held fast to the ways of his master. Like him, pious, reverencing the mysteries and offering sacrifices, he sought to harmonize the results of his thought with the popular faith. Thus he not seldom uses religious phrases, especially when speaking of supersensual things; but in these cases the old poetic fire blazes up again, and thoughts and language take so high and bold a flight that it is hard to say how far his meaning is literal and how far symbolic.

Plato's great disciple, Aristotle, cut loose entirely from both, the dialectic method as well as the language and the substance of popular belief. Here we find for the first time a philosophy completely clear of preconceived opinions, a freedom from every national tradition, and thus, in a historic point of view, the last achievement of Greek philosophy in the direction of liberation; but at the same time, a complete abandonment of Hellenism, and the



Andr. del.

Agathon.

Sokrates.

BANQUET OF AGATHON.

beginning of a world-philosophy. Aristotle is the turning-point between Hellenism and cosmopolitanism.

Aristotle was born 384 B. C., and was the son of a physician. When seventeen years old he came to Athens to attend the teachings of Plato, and remained with him twenty years, after which he became the tutor of Alexander the Great. When this monarch set out on his campaign against Persia, Aristotle returned to Athens and founded a new philosophical school, called the Peripatetic, because he was in the habit of walking about in the shady alleys (*peripatoi*) of the Lyceum with his disciples, while he instructed them. After the death of Alexander a prosecution drove him from Athens, and shortly after (322 B. C.) he died.

Though long a pupil of Plato, Aristotle's doctrine and method stood in striking opposition to those of his master. He could never accept Plato's doctrine of ideas, because it offered no connexion between these ideas and the reality, and because the facts of the real world found in them no explanation. He did not possess the poetic imagination of Plato, and renounced entirely the poetic style of philosophising. Aristotle had a clear practical intellect, and was an acute observer and calm, cautious thinker, who moved step by step. So he followed a path the opposite of Plato's. He started with the special, individual, concrete and firm instance, and following the road of calm investigation, arrived at general laws. He was thus the forerunner and leader in that path of induction, the method by which at the present day scientific investigations lead to their results.

Proceeding in this manner, he investigated and classified all branches of philosophy, and in part, as for instance formal logic, placed them on the ground which they still hold. Clearing away all accidentals and disguises, he first made philosophy a genuine science. But he went far beyond the domain of pure philosophy. In the same manner he investigated rhetoric, poetry, politics, finance, and determined the nature and scope of each. But this, both in substance and method, the unphilosophical side of his activity, was only half of the work of this gigantic intellect; the other he employed—even more admirably, since here he lacked all predecessors—in the investigation of nature. He collected all the fruits of previous observations; but he himself enriched to an immeasurable extent this treasure of knowledge by means of a faculty of observation which none had possessed before him, and by the help of his pupil, Alexander the Great, who placed unlimited sums at his disposal, and employed thousands of men to collect and to work for him. Thus in a comparatively short time he was able to produce a great work of natural history, which thenceforth was the foundation of all studies in that department, though he himself never properly rose from the position of a thoughtful observer to that of an explorer. Nevertheless, he discovered so much that was new, and founded so many new sciences, that he may be looked upon as a world-conqueror like his great pupil, but the world he conquered was the world of knowledge.

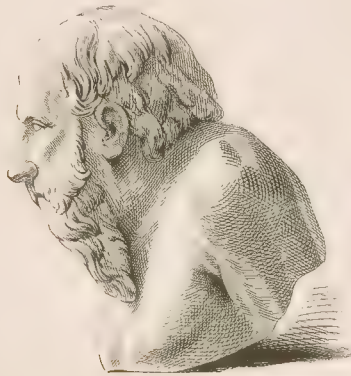
After Aristotle Greek philosophy produced no new system; the summit had been reached, and the creative genius had departed. Only a few branches, already entered upon, were carried further and altered to some extent. Thus, soon after Aristotle, two new schools were founded at Athens, of which one, that of the Stoics, leaned rather toward the doctrines of the Cynics, while the other, that of the Epicureans, toward Aristippos and the Kyrenians. The former was founded by Zeno, who taught in the portico painted by Polygnotos and called the Stoa Poikile (whence the name of Stoic) and the latter by Epikouros, like Zeno a man of blameless life, whose name, however, later became unjustly associated with luxury and sensuality. Both had the same aim in view; philosophy was for them a means of attaining a happy life, only, like Antisthenes and Aristippos, they had entirely different conceptions of happiness.

GREECE.

For Zeño, happiness consisted in virtue, and virtue in a life in accordance with reasonable nature, in which mere pleasure was to be despised, and external goods were matters of indifference. Epikouros, however, considered pleasure as the principal element of a happy life, but this pleasure was not the slight momentary enjoyment, but a permanent condition of the soul. Thus the nature of all enjoyments and pleasures was to be well considered, as they might bring in their effects more annoyance than satisfaction. Epikouros indulged in the more refined pleasures, which the Stoics contemned; but he sought real happiness in that calmness of soul which should be the portion of the true sage, a calm which nothing can disturb, and which is unmoved by pain or death. The same aim was sought by a third school, the Skeptics or Doubters, as they called themselves. According to their opinion, truth was impossible of attainment. Man could know nothing with certainty; nay, he could not be even certain that he knew nothing. But precisely in this impossibility of knowledge they saw the way to a happy life; for whosoever has attained this conviction is tormented no more by cares or ambitions; in perfect equanimity he lives a life of calm and indifference.

This extension into the domain of practical life is the characteristic of all philosophy after Aristotle, and thus it ceased to be an esoteric science. Plato had said that in his time the philosopher stood like an unarmed man, with neither friend nor helper, in the midst of wild beasts. Now, on the contrary, philosophy penetrated all circles of society; the statesman, the general, the orator, the man of culture, all studied, practised, and cared about it. Philosophy became the fashion; and while the great creative philosophers ceased, the schools of their successors flourished extensively.

But something more than this happened. With Aristotle, as we have said, philosophy lost its national character and became cosmopolitan. In this character it pressed eastward into those Hellenic kingdoms founded by the successors of Alexander, and perhaps beyond their boundaries. Soon it travels westward also, and becomes a necessary element of culture at Rome, as it had been at Athens, Antioch, and Pergamon. With and through the Romans it then performed its part—and it is no small one—in the task of Greek culture to renew and to rule the classic world, and to strengthen it for centuries in its contest with Christianity.



DIOGENES
Bust in the Villa Albani at Rome.





ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

ROME.



HAT is it in Rome that has always fascinated us with a power almost equal to that of Greece? It would seem as if Roman history should not compare in charm with the history of Hellas. We miss those genial and amiable Hellenes, with whom our hearts, despite all their faults, still beat in sympathy. Rome, too, lacks those creative intellects that marked out the path of civilization, and wrought models for eternity; she lacks the original poetry, the naïve freshness, the sunny cheerfulness, even the inspiration which still, after a thousand years, kindles the hearts of men.

ROME.

It must be confessed that a certain jejuneness characterises Roman history: it seems dominated by cold, pitiless common-sense, joined with a tough endurance; but the common-sense rises to wisdom, and the endurance soars to grandeur and to heroism. Thence come the consistency and logical character of the history of Rome. This history was not made by Alexanders, who conquered the world at a blow: the empire of Rome advanced slowly, unceasingly, as if self-moved, with the irresistible force of a law of nature; and in like manner it declined. We are spectators at a drama which grows from a slight beginning to gigantic proportions, and closes with the most impressive and tragic catastrophe. This is the fascination of Roman history.

But if not the individual men, the Romans as a people are not less interesting than the Greeks. They are ideals of manliness, and have virtues and vices that are all their own—virtues and vices that raised them to universal empire. And this empire produced circumstances and phenomena such as never elsewhere appeared in human history.

We must also not forget that in passing from Greek to Roman history we have to cross that bridge which history itself has crossed. Roman civilization is only a continuation of that of Greece. What the small land of Hellas created, and Alexander carried to the east, the Romans bore to the west and north. Without the Hellenes there had been no Roman culture; without the Romans, no Romanic and no Teutonic civilization.





MONUMENT OF THE HORATHI AND CURIATHI.

BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE STATE.

1.

TIME OF THE REPUBLIC.



SO dominating is the position of the Italian peninsula, and so great its natural advantages, that we may say that if Providence destined the Mediterranean with its bordering lands to become a universal empire, an empire which should gather into one focus all the rays of antique civilization, Italy alone could be the place of its origin, and to Italy alone could the supremacy belong.

Placed at almost an equal distance between the Straits of

Hercules on the west and the coast of Syria on the east, the long peninsula running from north to south seems to divide the sea almost in the middle. While to the north it is separated by the lofty chain of the Alps from those barbarian populations to whom the history of a later day was to belong, with its southern Sicilian extremity it almost reaches the coast of Africa, and approaches the southern limit of ancient culture. Thus on the right and on the left it seems to claim as its own the mastery of the seas. Solid and firmly braced by the chain of the Apennines, not split up by short mountain ranges and lacerated with bays like Greece, it possesses the conditions of unity, a single, compact state. It has been gifted with manifold variety of productions, mountains of moderate height, smiling vales, broad, fertile plains, and a mild and genial climate. Thus lavishly favoured, it has also received the dower of exquisite beauty of landscape; not the stern sublimity which we see in the effects of nature's violences, in wild and grand mountain-forms, in barren uninhabited deserts, in peaks of ice and snow, and in yawning chasms; but that beauty of quiet charm, of soft and varied outlines, and forms in graceful motion; that beauty which lies in abundance and saturation of colour, in the wealth of hue from the richest depth to the most evanescent tint, in the transparency of the air, and in the magic of the light which floods and transfigures the whole.

Thus Italy appears destined not only to the mastery of the sea, but as a seat of the highest culture, whenever a race naturally gifted should choose it as an abode. And this was done by these peoples nearly allied to the Greeks, who, it may be said, had long before left the same home in eastern Asia, to take possession of the peninsula of the Apennines. They found inhabitants there before them; but these were forced down into the southern extremity by the new-comers, and little by little—consumed, we may say, so that nothing was left but the name; we know not of what race they sprang nor whence they came.

The new-comers, these kinsmen of the Greeks, whom we may call by the general name of Italics, arrived at Italy not in one compact mass, but in two distinct stocks, the Latini and the Sabelli, of which the latter subdivided itself again into a number of peoples, the Umbrians, Sabines, Samnites, Volscians, etc., the Latins being probably the first to arrive. Pressed on various sides, they kept a firm position in Latium, that extensive tract on the left bank of the Tiber to southward of its mouth. The Sabellian peoples, the Samnites at their head, fixed their residences in the mountains, and hence sent out their young population—the “sacred springs”^{*}—to make conquests and settlements in the surrounding plains.

But the Italic races did not remain the sole inhabitants of the fair and inviting peninsula. From two quarters came competitors and sharers. From the north and north-east came a barbarian unknown race of many names, Etruscans, Tuscans, Tyrrheni, Rhaeti, or Rasena, which, much as it has been spoken of and inquired about, has ever remained, as to its origin, affinities, and speech, an unsolved riddle. This race pressed back the Italics, and fixed itself astride the northern Apennines, reaching from sea to sea, from the Adriatic to the Tyrrhene gulf, from the mouth of the Po to the mouth of the Arno. In contact with the Greeks, a commercial and colonizing race, the Etruscans themselves became a seafaring people, equally devoted to traffic and to piracy, and established a civilization which still presents many enigmas. But they were unable to retain the habitations they had acquired. At a time when in Greece we find clear and substantial history, certain peoples of Celtic race burst through

^{*} “The *ver sacrum* [sacred spring] was a religious custom among the Italic peoples. In times of great danger they vowed to sacrifice all living creatures born during the next spring. But when it seemed a cruel thing to slay innocent boys and girls, they reared these to adult age, and then, veiling their faces, sent them beyond their frontiers.” *FESTUS, De Verb. Signif.* TR.



ROMULUS AND REMUS.

the Alps, occupied the broad plain on both sides of the Po, and thrust back the Etruscans entirely from the Adriatic, so that there was only left them the land now called Tuscany, from the mouth of the Arno to that of the Tiber. This was what happened in the north. On the south the Greek colonies, which perpetually grew in numbers, and ever pressed northward, cut off the Italic peoples from the sea, and at length, as the Tuscans had done, extended from sea to sea, so that the land from them came to be called *Magna Graecia* Great Greece. But if they forced the Italics back, and even in part brought them under their rule, they gave them in exchange, the art of writing, weights and measures, and many other furtherances of intercourse and arts of civilization.

Such, broadly outlined, is the manner in which the populations of Italy had established themselves when Rome emerged from the darkness of its legendary prehistoric period, to enter upon its career of destiny. The town of the Latins, at first an open village, spreading itself between hills of which the smallest and steepest served for the citadel or place of refuge in time of danger, in the midst of a broad but not a level plain, by no means distinguished for healthiness of climate—seemed very far from being especially favoured by nature. But as Italy occupied the centre of the future empire, so Rome lay in the centre of Italy, exactly in the position to extend its circles of conquests, one beyond the other, ever wider and wider. Placed on the left bank of the Tiber but a few leagues' distance from its mouth, its ships could take part in commerce, while at the same time it was safe from sudden descents of pirates or hostile fleets. A border-city to Etruria, yet protected from it by the Tiber, it was at once open to friendly intercourse and secured from hostile attack. Thus the agricultural population, which formed the aristocratic nucleus, at an early date engaged in commerce and in war, both by sea and land.

Of these friendly relations with the neighbouring peoples tradition has but little to report; but it has much to tell of the wars and feuds which accompany the history of Rome from beginning to end. First we find Rome at war with the kindred Latin cities, Alba at their head. The result of this first period, that of the kings, is, that Rome obtains the hegemony in a league of the Latin cities, and from a simple city has become the head of Latium. Then, in a period that begins with the foundation of the Republic and lasts for several centuries, comes the second ring of expansion—the contest with the Italic peoples and the Etruscans that bordered Latium on the north. The process was a slow one. There was no great military genius to conquer their antagonists at a blow, and no statesman competent so to deal with the vanquished that they should not perpetually renew the struggle for victory, freedom, and independence. Twice, in the earlier part of this period, Rome tottered on the brink of ruin; once when she succumbed to the Etruscan Porsena, and again when she was taken by the Gauls; but storms could only bend, but never break, Rome. With these exceptions, Rome, in this period of her history, never concluded a peace after a defeat. However great the powers of the enemies or rivals about her, however stubborn and undaunted the ever-renewed resistance, however threatening the combinations of her foes, still more stubborn, more enduring, more indomitable, showed itself the steel-like, never-wavering character of the Romans. At no time were they greater and their virtues more splendidly conspicuous than at this period. The Volscians and Aequians first submitted, next Fidenae and Veii sank into the dust; then, in a wider circle, and after long contests, the Sabines, Umbrians, Samnites, and all Etruria were forced to acknowledge Rome's supremacy; and when, after these, the Greek cities fell, the whole of Italy, except the Gallic north, was under Roman rule. This was in 266 B. C., or 488 years from the foundation of the city. Five centuries had carried Rome thus far on the path of her destiny.

ROME.

Thus far—for in this continuous, if slow advance, it had been impossible for Rome to pause. Every war brought new enemies and gave rise to new complications. The latest wars had brought a new antagonist upon Italian soil. In Pyrrhos the Romans had encountered the Graeco-Macedonian strategy; and it was only by what they learned from this bold adventurer, that they were able to overcome him. Then there arose beyond Italy, in Carthage, a mightier adversary, fully their match, who summoned them upon the sea, and beyond the sea, into Africa and Spain. Carthage at this time had undisputed supremacy over the western half of the Mediterranean: to cope with her, Rome herself had to become a maritime power; to build fleets after fleets, as storms or the enemy destroyed them; to transport her armies to Sicily, the first apple of discord that brought on the war, to Sardinia, to Spain and to Africa. Two long and terrible wars, such as Rome had never before waged, were needed to humble her mighty foe, inexhaustible in resources, but torn by party strife and swayed by egotism; a third to annihilate her and sweep her from the earth. The first war was carried on hesitatingly, and with less than Rome's wonted energy, until exhaustion led to a moderately advantageous peace, in reality nothing more than a truce. Carthage found new resources and new armies in Spain, and, in the family of the country, he maintained the war in Italy for fifteen years; himself unconquered, he won victory after victory until the enemy's force was annihilated; the Romans were compelled to suffer defeats like that of Cannae, such as they had never before known, and more than once it was only the insufficiency of his own force that kept Hannibal from the gates of Rome. Nothing but the imminent peril of his native city called him back to Africa. When he was defeated at Zama, it was Carthage that yielded to Rome, not Hannibal to Scipio. The invincible endurance of the Romans, never greater than when in adversity, was what won the victory. With Hannibal's overthrow, Carthage was lost. If he took up arms again, it was but a hopeless and desperate struggle, and his end was terrible and tragic, but honourable and glorious (146 B. C.).



HANNIBAL.

Barcidae, great generals to lead their armies to unheard-of triumphs. In Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, the Romans found an antagonist of the first military genius, such as her whole history can hardly match—scarcely one fit to rank by his side. At once great and magnanimous, wise and inventive, bold and prudent, he made the war support the war, finding his resources in the greatness of his intellect and the strength of his character. Almost abandoned by his own

But down to this time—the time when Carthage yielded to Scipio and vanished from the earth—the Romans had on other sides also passed far beyond the bounds of Italy. Between the first and second Punic wars falls the subjugation of the Kelts in Northern Italy, and with this

TIME OF THE REPUBLIC.

the subjection of the plain of the Po, which, as Cisalpine Gaul, was not yet reckoned as a part of Italy. Soon thereafter the Illyrian wars led Roman fleets and armies across the Adriatic, and brought Rome into immediate contact with Greece and the jealous and vigilant Philip of Makedon. Spain fell as the prize of the second Punic war; but its maintenance cost wars ever renewed and ever more cruel and more sanguinary, until the independence of the Iberians was destroyed and the Spanish provinces pacified. In the end it was Roman civilization more than the Roman sword that made the Pyrenaeen peninsula a real and permanent member of the Roman empire. The possession of Spain showed the necessity of a direct connexion by land with Italy, and thus southern Gaul became a Roman province. If we further reckon the Numidian kings as obedient allies, the circle of Roman rule in the western half of the Mediterranean was closed with the fall of Carthage.

Almost at the same time a like result happened in the east. Between the second and third Punic wars, Makedonia, the native land of Alexander the Great, was conquered in two wars. Even before Alexander's death, Roman armies had crossed the Hellespont, and in the Syrian war had conquered and rendered powerless for harm another king of Greek race, Antiochos of Syria. A part of Asia Minor became a Roman province; while in another part cities and provinces were obedient and submissive to the will of Rome. Out of a reverence for Hellenic intellect and culture, the senate and the Roman generals remained for a while patient observers of the internal dissensions of Greece, until at last they put an end to the confusion, and in the same year in which Carthage was destroyed, Greek liberty came to a tragic end with the destruction of Corinth.

Thus with the humiliation of Syria and the impotence of Egypt, which placed itself under the protection of Rome, we may consider the empire of the Mediterranean, if yet far from complete, still as a closed ring. What remained of independence in this circuit remained so only by grace of the Romans. Piece by piece it fell to the empire, so soon as the time had come; and resistance, if any were offered, was merely an expiring convulsion. Thus fell Crete, Numidia, the kingdom of the murdered Jugurtha, thus Syria, Pontus, and Armenia. If the Pontic kingdom offered in repeated wars a long and apparently dangerous resistance, the cause lay less in the greatness and might of Mithradates—who both for good and for evil was the ideal of an Asiatic despot of an unusually potent and interesting type—than in the circumstances of Rome herself, who with her growing greatness saw the fall of her pristine virtues approaching, and was torn by civil war.

For in the meanwhile great changes had come to pass with Rome and the Romans. Rome had long before expanded beyond her ancient *pomoerium*, and the city of the seven hills had become a cosmopolitan city, with all the attractions of its rich and manifold life, but also with its vices and its perils. Out of the Quirite who in peace tilled the soil, and in war buckled on the sword, had grown a *grand seigneur* with an unpaid crowd clamouring for bread around him. Political parties had changed their ground and followed new aims; and new classes and new distinctions had arisen.

As early as the time of the kings, two orders of society are seen side by side, the order of the fully-qualified citizens, the families, or patricians, the hereditary owners of the Roman land, and the order of plebeians, the clients of these families, to whom the right to inhabit and possess land was conceded, and protection given, but all share in the government was denied. For this plebeian order Rome was a city of easy access, and reception into it was readily allowed. Thus the great populace or *plebs* grew, especially when, after successful wars, the populations of conquered cities were transplanted, totally or partially, to Rome. As the

plebs thus grew, soon outnumbering the patricians, it became to the old families a dangerous rival, perpetually striving for the acquisition of full civic rights, for equality and fusion with their order.

This is the great struggle which for centuries fills the domestic history of Rome with unceasing contention. External wars, the occasional peril or distress of the state, might check it for a time, or throw it into abeyance, but never terminate it; and it went on until the object was attained. Servius Tullius by his classification had made the plebs at least an integral part of the state, in return for which it was held to military service. The abolition of monarchy brought it but little good, for the two consuls, elected yearly, who took the place of the king, were chosen from the patricians, and the plebeians had no voice in the election. A few of the lower order might find places in the senate, but remained there without power or consideration. But only fifteen years after the expulsion of the kings the plebeians obtained in the tribunes, officers elected from their own body, a power which continually increased, furnished them with leaders and champions, and extorted for them one right after another. With this assistance, the universality of the Greek law was attained, and purely arbitrary rule was at an end; the legality of marriages between patricians and plebeians was established, and finally the complete legal equality of both orders in the administration of the state was expressly declared by law, in the year 336 B. C., 388 years after the foundation of the city. In this year was elected the first plebeian consul, in 399 the first plebeian dictator; and in 404, the first plebeian censor. The internal conflict had thus lasted full four hundred years.

The plebeians had obtained political equality in the state, and the organization was completed. But immediately a new contest took the place of the old, or rather the old continued in new form and with a change of parties. In place of the patricians and plebeians, we have the rich and the poor, the well-born and the proletarians, the aristocrats and the populace. A limited number of patrician families, joined by others of plebeian origin, but grown wealthy, had seized upon the government as their heritage, and only let those share in it who belonged to their faction, whether deserving or not, while their combined power was employed to repress every *novus homo*, or parvenu from the ranks of the people. All that their many victories and conquests brought, the rich booties, the conquered lands which were sequestered to the state, the profitable administration of dependent provinces, all fell to the shares of the *optimates* or governing families. The populace increased in numbers, but at the same time grew poorer and poorer, to general destitution.

This evil dates back as far as the early days of this internal contest. The heavy load of debt which oppressed the plebeians was an important factor in it. They saw themselves compelled, in ever increasing numbers, to surrender their lands to their creditors, and either to fall into the position of dependents, or join the proletariat. The small landholders, the solid middle-class, the real strength of the people, disappeared, and the population was divided into rich and poor, the great landholders and capitalists on one hand, and on the other the hungry populace, which became the plaything and tool of the demagogues, and grew ripe for monarchy. The political question had become a social question as well.

This evil was early recognized, as was also the remedy, but the application of the remedy did not follow the diagnosis. The cure could only be found in the creation of a new middle class of landholders; and to create this was the aim of the first agrarian law of Spurius Cassius Viscellinus. The means were all at hand. He proposed (468 B. C.) the division of the public lands, which hitherto the patricians had enjoyed without possessing, among the needy citizens. The patricians opposed this with all their power; Cassius was defeated and put to death as a

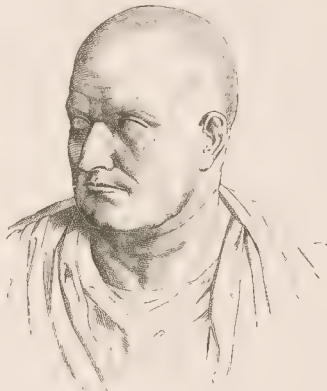
TIME OF THE REPUBLIC.

traitor; but the evil continued and increased, while henceforth the agrarian law, as a possible remedy, ever stood threatening in the background.

In the meantime Italy had been conquered, and the Roman municipal rule extended from the Po to the southern extremity of the peninsula. But the social evil had likewise spread over all Italy. In the numerous wars, always bloody, and sometimes to extermination, the number of freemen had been everywhere reduced, the middle class was impoverished and destroyed, the peasant vanished before the great landholder who cultivated his extensive estates by means of thousands of slaves, who again offered a new danger.

It is true there were some outlets for the discontent, as in the occasional custom of sending discharged soldiers as colonists to the conquered countries; but this only postponed, but did not prevent, the crisis. In the time of highest glory of the Roman arms, when Spain had been subdued, Carthage destroyed, Greece, Macedonia and Asia Minor reduced to provinces, the danger appeared so very threatening, that Scipio Aemilianus prayed to the gods, not in the usual style of public prayers, for the enlargement of territory, but only for the preservation of Rome. Yet no one came forward as a deliverer, for deliverance involved a battle with

the ruling power in the state.



THE ELDER SCIPIO.

At length two young men ventured the struggle, two brothers from the ranks of the optimates, and belonging to one of the noblest families. Tiberius and Caius Sempronius Gracchus. Through their mother, Cornelia, they were grandsons of Scipio Africanus; and their birth, family connexions, personal talents and early distinction placed them on the road to the highest honours; but they saw the peril of

the state and devoted themselves to its rescue. Tiberius, the elder brother, tribune of the people in the year 134 B. C., first took up again the idea of an agrarian law, and proposed the division of the public lands throughout Italy among the poorer citizens. His proposal became the law, and to a great extent was carried out; but in the violent resistance of the optimates he was slain, and fell the victim of his patriotism.

Ten years later, his avenger and the completer of his work arose in the person of his younger brother, Caius Gracchus. Caius, more of a statesman than his brother, perceived that the thorough carrying-out of the agrarian law was not to be attained; and the cure of the evil, the solution of the social problem, was impossible, so long as the strength of the opposition, supported by the senate, was unbroken—so long as Rome was ruled by an aristocracy. His bold spirit did not shrink from a complete transformation of the constitution of the state; his acute intellect showed him the means and the methods, and his energy and activity during the two years of his tribunate seemed to have reached the goal. Caius for a time might look upon himself as the master of Rome, and perhaps visions of permanent power floated before his

spirit, which combined youthful audacity with manly wisdom. But the day of autocracy had not yet come. He also found his death in a riot, which his opponents had excited as their last means of resistance.

What caused the fall of Caius Gracchus was also the solution of another question, which now became more and more serious: the question of granting citizenship to the Italian allies. Rome had extended her sway over the whole peninsula, and all its inhabitants were compelled to bear arms in her wars; but though they served in the same armies, it was not with equal rights nor with equal share in the conquered territories. Rome the city ruled alone; and the Italian peoples, instead of working their way to equal rights, sank ever lower in oppression and dependence. Ever louder and more urgent were their clamours for civic rights; and Caius Gracchus was inclined to grant them these, trusting thus to strengthen his party. But just here it was that he encountered opposition, for his party wished to keep all power and profit to themselves. Thus he fell, abandoned by the people at the critical moment, and it cost a year of war, streams of blood, and the almost entire desolation of Italy, before the right of citizenship was granted, and the assembly of citizens became the assembly of the state.

Through the Gracchi the populace had become a compact popular party, ranked in opposition to the aristocrats with whom they had more than once measured themselves in arms, for already there had been two bloody riots and fighting in the streets. The ground of law had been abandoned, the path of revolution entered upon, and a peaceful solution was no longer possible. If the aristocracy conquered, the republic must fall to pieces; if the democracy, the oppressed proletariat, the end must be the rule of a single man. Of this Caius Gracchus himself had given a foreshadowing. The result was individual rule, and thus Rome and the empire of the world were saved.

A wretched period followed the fall of the Gracchi. The popular party lacked leaders, and the senate recovered its power, without itself having any powerful heads. The proletariat increasing; Italy's prosperity declining; the administration in the hands of bad and venal men; servile revolts imminent; the Mediterranean scoured by pirates, who cut off the access to Italy and Rome; a war in Numidia, disgracefully dragged out by corrupt generals; in the north the threatening spectre of Germanic peoples, the Cimbri and Teutones, who defeated the Romans again and again, as they had never been defeated since Cannae; the Italian allies on the brink of revolt; a new enemy arising in the East in Mithradates—such was the condition of the Roman state in the ten years after the Gracchi. True, Jugurtha and Numidia were conquered at last, and the Germans, in two great battles, annihilated by Marius; but in Rome itself the internal dissension between the people and the optimates came again to a violent outbreak, and amid terrible slaughter the civil war dragged itself into the war with the allies, and to that with Pontus. With Marius, a great and victorious general, but half-mad with ambition and ferocity, the popular party thought the day was its own; but Sulla, who in cold calculation shed as much blood as Marius and his party in wild fury, snatched away its victory. Such days Rome had never yet seen; while all virtue and order were being drowned in blood, the city was fast ripening for a master. This master had been found in Sulla; but Sulla was not the man to transform state and people and lead them into new paths. An aristocrat in his faults and his prejudices, he could never dissociate himself from his party. Possessed of autocratic power, and commissioned to order the state anew and restore peace, he did nothing more than to restore the rule of the optimates and the influence of the senate. This done, he voluntarily resigned his power, in the very midst of his undisputed supremacy

TIME OF THE REPUBLIC.

—an enigma of history, of which the only solution can be psychological—soon after to lay his wearied head to rest, and to be escorted to his tomb (78 B. C.), by all Italy, in triumphal procession, as if he had been the most fortunate and best beloved of rulers, a very father of his country.

With his death his work perished. The struggle of parties continued, with the balance of power swaying now to this side, now to that. The decision between the popular party and the optimates rested with a third power, which had before given the victory to Sulla the army. As yet there was no standing army, and the legions were levied from the citizens and allies, and discharged at the close of the war. But now the wars never ceased; and soldiers were needed everywhere, in the interior as well as on the frontiers. The legion too was changing its character. Formerly those only were taken as soldiers who had some

property of their own, that at the close of a campaign they might return to their possessions; but Marius had taken every one who offered and was fit for service. Thus the proletariat made its way into the army, and instead of a citizen-militia they had a professional soldiery. But the soldier by profession, with his present and future all depending upon his general, necessarily supported him in political contests. Thus, while everything tended to autocracy, it followed naturally that

Marius, in Spain had carried on a long war with Sertorius and his successors; invested with unusual powers, he had in a few weeks swept the Mediterranean clear of the pirates who so long had been the torment of Rome; in Asia he had brought to a close the Pontic and Armenian wars; had added wide provinces to the republic, made kings and princes subject to the Roman sway, and introduced orderly government into those lands, in place of anarchy and confusion. He was now the first man in the whole republic. Those next to him were Cato, a narrow and rigid spirit, who clung to the wreck of the old republic; Cicero, who, vain and timid, wavered from one party to another; Crassus, who as speculator and banker had amassed vast wealth, and with wealth power—men who beside Pompeius could only take the parts of assistants and agents. More than once Pompeius saw the crown at his feet, but he lacked the decision to take it up, and the fortunate moment passed.

But while he hesitated, a rival arose who snatched the prize from his grasp. Caius Julius Caesar, sprung from one of the oldest and noblest families of Rome, whose lineage tradition traced back to Aeneas, had almost as a boy attracted the notice of Sulla, who saw

Rome became the price of the greatest and most fortunate military leader.

After Sulla's death, Pompeius for a long time was Rome's chief general. From his youth fortune had smiled upon him, and when as yet scarcely twenty years of age, he had received the title of "the Great." A valiant and daring soldier, a cautious and prudent leader, he had fought, and always successfully, both under Sulla and alone. In Africa he had destroyed the partisans of



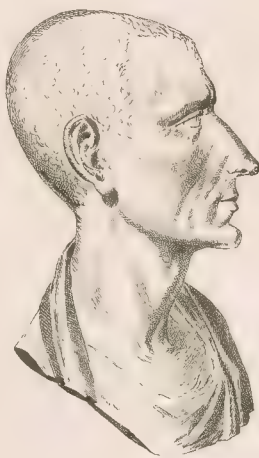
POMPEIUS THE GREAT.

in him "more than one Marius." An aristocrat by race and education, enriched with the finest culture Greece could bestow; learned in his own tongue and a consummate master in its use; enjoying to the height the life of a young Roman noble; he had with keen eye discerned that the future belonged to the popular party. Partly by gaming, and partly by lavishness, he had incurred colossal debts; but he had also won the favour of the people and was their acknowledged leader. But the fame of Pompeius had long kept him in the shade; and in the triumvirate which the latter had formed in conjunction with Caesar and Crassus, Caesar had only filled the second place. To attain his aim needed, in addition to popular favour, military renown and the support of the legions.

His proconsulate in Gaul brought him both the fame and the army. An unbroken series of victories over Helvetians, Germans, Gauls, Belgae, and Britons, showed the popular leader, who had hitherto been judged rather unwarlike, to be the first general of Rome and of the world; and his veteran and victorious legions who worshipped him, and were ready to follow wherever he should lead, made him the most dangerous foe of the Republic. Even while absent his fame and in-

though not without risk, the Pompeian legions in Spain were subdued. On the soil of Greece, at Dyrrhachion, his old good fortune seemed once more to smile upon Pompeius the Great, but it abandoned him at Pharsalos—or rather he himself turned his back on his army and his fortune before the battle was lost, only to perish in Egypt, forsaken and alone, by the hands of an assassin. While Caesar in Egypt was suppressing a bloody revolt, and perhaps dallying away his time with that Greek-Oriental Circe, the queen Kleopatra, whose charms had twined serpent-like around the heart of the susceptible Roman; while, hastening to Asia Minor, he "came and saw" Pharnakes, and vanquished him as it were by a glance—during this time the republican leaders had escaped to Africa, and there assembled a new force. But at Thapsos they again fell before their great opponent, and this time the fall was annihilation. Cato, the last real representative of the old, austere, inflexible Roman character, gave the republic as well as himself the death-blow with his own hand (46 B. C.).

Caesar now stood alone; no rival was to be seen. The Republic was at an end, and the reign of the Caesars had begun. One absolute will alone could save the crumbling Roman state, bring the confused world again to order, and guide it onward. It was a Herculean task



JULIUS CAESAR.

fluence increased at Rome, while the power and reputation of Pompeius declined. Instinctively, as if terrified by the apparition of their great antagonist, Pompeius and the optimates, that is, the defenders of the republic, formed a coalition. The last contest, that had so long been postponed, had to be decided now. Italy, shamefully abandoned by the republicans on Caesar's rapid advance, fell easily into his hands; but it cost him much hard fighting before his enemies, who had to be followed up into the provinces, had all been crushed. Promptly,

TIME OF THE REPUBLIC.

to arrange, to reform, to re-cast the whole, morally and politically ; for all things had to be guided into new paths. And but few months were granted to Caesar to do all this, reckoning from the battle of Thapsos to his death. But in his mind all that was to be done seemed already long matured, and ready to be put into execution. In an incredibly short time measures were adopted which brought the vast confused state to order and converted it into an empire, or at least made all ready for the transformation. In reality Caesar grasped absolute power, but not under the hated title of king, but under that of *imperator*, he who had the *imperium*, or right of command. The form of the republic he left standing, but the powers of office he concentrated in himself. The senate, once the cause of Rome's greatness, and then of her fall, was reduced to a powerless corporation ; and the people retained, only for appearance's sake, an assenting voice in public measures. The government of the provinces, now dependent upon Caesar's nod, was organized anew ; official abuses were reformed, order brought into the chaos of finance ; colonies planted with veteran soldiers ; the city made quiet and safe, and at the same time im-



MARCUS BRUTUS.

old republic were not at once to be got rid of, either by severity or kindness. The small Catos, the Brutuses and Cassiuses, still lived ; but dark conspiracy took the place of open war, and the trusting Caesar fell, pierced by the daggers of assassins, at the foot of the statue of Pompeius (44 B. C.).

The murderers' steel slew a mild tyrant only to make room for many cruel ones. The result was not a restored republic, but a new civil war to decide upon the new master, who was to arise out of bloody battles and a cold-blooded butchery surpassing the worst atrocities of Marius and Sulla. At Philippi fell the Epigonoï of the republic ; and then the two conquerors contended for the mastery ; Octavianus, Caesar's nephew and heir, who advanced his hereditary pretensions, and Antonius, Caesar's richly-gifted, but dissolute pupil and comrade in arms, and his successor in the affections of Kleopatra, but more deeply entangled in her snares than ever Caesar had been. Under these two the eastern and western halves of the empire faced each other in battle. The sea-fight off Actium (34 B. C.) again decided the victory for the west, and Octavianus, who called himself "the August," was undisputed lord of the world.

proved and adorned ; libraries founded ; the erroneous computation of time rectified, and a new calendar introduced. To each and all the care of the great statesman extended ; no disorder, no abuse, no necessity escaped his clear and penetrating intelligence, and for all he found the needful help.

But he found it not for himself. With a mildness unexampled in Rome at least he had spared his opponents, and even striven to make friends of foes.

But the partisans of the



AUGUSTUS AND LIVIA.

2.

THE EMPERORS.



IVE hundred years Providence allotted to Roman imperial rule; a long time to die, if we regard this period only as the decline and dissolution of the great empire and of Greek civilization. True, it almost seems as if we were justified in so regarding it, for born in slaughter and civil war, it appears only able to maintain itself by war and slaughter, until, effete and enervated, it expired in misery and blood. And what kind of Romans, what kind of men, were they who not merely tolerated the madness of bloodthirsty tyrants like Caligula and Nero, Domitian and Commodus,

THE EMPERORS.

but crouched in abject servility at their feet, and honoured as gods these monsters of the human race? Rome was a splendid capital, but peopled by a million of wretches, for the most part slaves, freedmen, or beggars, with a few masters gorged with wealth, now basking in the sunshine of imperial favour, anon trembling at the scowl of the tyrant, or frightened into suicide by his frown.



AUGUSTUS.

But Rome now was no longer the empire. From Rome, it is true, the world received its orders, but not its strength nor its impulses. On the contrary, it was now the provinces from which Rome drew new life and her mysterious power of endurance. While the capital sank into servility and enervation, the provinces flourished in municipal freedom. Their fresh and vigorous population imbibed the Graeco-Roman civilization, and the more thoroughly the Spaniards, Gauls, Africans, Germans, Pannonians, Dacians became Latins, Romans or Greeks, the less disposed were they to revolt. When they were thus Latinized, they were no longer subjects, but partners in the empire, partakers of the glory, the honour, and the dominion. Soon it was the provinces that supplied the active spirits, the men of art and of letters; they furnished not only the legions but the commanders, and from those commanders, emperors mighty to rule.

Looked at in this light, we cannot regard the whole imperial time as a time of dissolution, especially when we remember that even under the abandoned emperors of the Julian line, the provinces were well administered, brilliant victories were won, and the extent of the empire greatly enlarged. To this period of tyrants succeeded an era of excellent rulers, when virtue and wisdom filled the throne, and the welfare of the people was the only consideration; an era which various philosophical historians are disposed to regard as the happiest in the history, not only of the empire, but of the human race. But immediately after these we must begin to date the real decline, when pretenders to the throne embroiled the whole empire in their contests, and, what was still more fatal, external foes gathered round, and piece by piece dismembered it, until at last it received the death-blow in its heart. Yet even in this period, the outworn and dying empire showed the toughness of its fibre, and fought for its life for three long centuries.

From the storms of the civil wars, the butchery of the proscriptions, the downfall of the republic, Rome had found in Augustus a deliverer and a restorer. Octavianus, when he became Caesar and absolute master of the state, was no longer the triumvir who calmly and in cold blood ordered or acquiesced in the slaughter of friends as well as foes. When he no longer had a competitor, he was mild and forgiving, a just and provident ruler, occupied only with the welfare of the state. Following the ideas and the path of the great Caesar, he took the power of monarchy, but declined the name. The offices and names of the republic, with which the splendour and glory of Rome, the fame of countless victories, the greatness of the empire, were associated, he left undisturbed. He lived as a simple citizen, at the most only the first among his peers. But he held the reins of government with a firm hand; and with coadjutors, such as the wise statesman Maecenas, and the experienced general Agrippa, he brought order into all the confusion, healed the wounds of civil war, and diffused new life. A standing army and a fleet were created or re-organized; and the administration of the provinces so solidly established that even the misrule of his successors could not disorganize it. Commerce, industry, art, and literature were carefully fostered, and flourished as if in a golden age. Even peace, the rarest guest in all Rome's history, seemed once more to smile upon the fortunate state. But it was but an appearance, for again gathered the threatening storm which was to burst from the German forests. The defeat of Lollius, and that far heavier blow, the fall of Varus with Rome's best legions in the Teutoberg forest (9 B. C.), the fruitless campaigns of Drusus, Tiberius and Germanicus, showed where Rome's might found its limit, and pointed ominously to the quarter whence her overthrow was to come. The frontiers of the empire were pushed to the Danube, and even beyond the Rhine; but here they found their stay—thus far and no farther!

Despite all this, Augustus, in his declining years, considering what he had meant to do and what he had accomplished, might look with satisfaction on the condition of the empire. But happiness was denied him. Just where he placed his affections and looked for happiness, in the bosom of his own family, here it was that the avenging Nemesis of his earlier misdeeds found him. Those to whom his heart clung, whom he meant to succeed him in the empire, he saw perish by the crime of his own wife, the ambitious Livia, who wished to place upon the throne her own son by a former marriage, sprung of the stern Claudian line. His house was left desolate; and before he laid to rest a head crowned with so many laurels, and laden with so many crimes, he was compelled, bitterly against his will, to appoint that very step-son his successor.

Thus (14 A. D.) Tiberius ascended the throne by a hereditary title for the first time undisputed. A hereditary monarchy seemed to have been founded; an evil one for Rome.



TIBERIUS AT CAPREAE.

THE EMPERORS.

Tiberius was past maturity when he came to empire ; he was then fifty-six years old. He had studied in Rhodes the learning of the Greeks, he had experience and a liberal education, he had commanded the legions on the Rhine and the Danube with ability and success, and ordered and administered the provinces in a statesmanlike manner. The empire was justified in expecting in him an excellent ruler ; and so he began his rule, modest in word and pretension ; wise and just in decision, firm and prudent in his administration of the provinces and the protection of the frontiers. He might cajole the senate, and the senate might flatter him ; but the affairs of the empire went on prosperously.

But the Erinnyes did not sleep, and the dragon's teeth, once sown, were never to fail of their harvest in the Julian line. Tiberius had ascended the throne through crime, and through crime alone did he think that he could remain secure ; and thus the family had to



TIBERIUS.



NERO.

furnish fresh victims to his mistrust. With his growing suspicion, the hard, unrelenting, cruel nature of the Claudian race came more and more to the surface, and with it all the darker side of his character, which had repelled Augustus. Under the influence of his evil genius, Sejanus, murders and executions began once more to be the order of the day in Rome. The more these went on, the more the soul of the tyrant darkened ; solitary, brooding and gloomy he sought in vain in orgies to escape his evil thoughts and the tortures of a guilty conscience. He fled from Rome and the world, and sequestered himself upon the rocky island Capreae, where he had built a palace. Here, under a smiling sky, with the blue waves around, in the midst of all splendours that earth could give, and in a landscape of matchless beauty which he could survey at a glance from his rocky height, here, apart from men and in the still lonelier solitude of the heart, dwelt the Lord of the World : old and broken, impotent of enjoyment, he found his only delight in the groans and anguish of his victims, until in his seventy-eighth year death freed him from himself and the world from him.

Rome and the world were delivered from the tyrant, but the path of blood had been trodden again, and a spell seemed to hold the steps of his successors in it. At first the new ruler seems inclined to virtue and justice, as if he were resolved to redress all his predecessor's faults ; but blood is like poison : a poison drunk in youth, which in time masters the whole man, reason takes flight, and the furies drag their victim into his predestined path. Thus it

ROME.

was for three successive reigns. The people grow callous to blood, when they see it poured out like water. In the arena, in the contests of gladiators and wild beasts, a pleasure of which the Romans were never satiated, the eye grew inured to blood and death, and the ear to shrieks and dying groans: cruelty and horror became their pastime and their delight. What was it then if the emperor took the lives of those who aroused his suspicion, or provoked his wrath, or even caught his eye? Whomsoever he fears, is doomed; whoever in word or in thought insults the maj-

In the pleasures of the moment, in sensual excesses and orgies, men hastened to snatch what enjoyment they could, for they knew not but the next hour, the next moment, the messenger of death might knock at the door.

Such was the state of things in Rome under the last three Cæsars of the Julian, or rather the Claudian line. Different as were the rulers, the circumstances were the same. Caligula, the only surviving son of the brave and honored Germanicus, ascended the throne when but a youth, but a youth familiar with blood and horrors, for he had been the companion of Tiberius at Ca-

tyrant, little less than a madman. For a few years Rome endured this monster, until assassination put an end to his crimes.

His uncle Claudius succeeded (41 A. D.) the brother of Germanicus, a learned man of narrow mind, weak in character, whose age—he was over fifty—should have taught him mod-

esty of the emperor, is doomed; whoever by his wealth excites the cupidity of the prince or of his friends, is marked for death, imprisonment, or exile. The greed of the emperor multiplies the swarm of spies and informers; to avoid an accusation innocent men slew themselves as readily and freely as if it were a pleasure to be rid of life. For, indeed, life has no value when it is never certain for an hour.

preace. Yet at first he showed a good disposition, rescinded the atrocious law of treason, released the prisoners, began the construction of useful buildings, gave largesses to the people and the soldiery, and regaled the populace with festivals, banquets, shows of gladiators, and combats of wild beasts. But in all this festivity he himself became intoxicated; the lust of blood awoke, and soon the youthful monarch became a ferocious



CLAUDIUS.



THE YOUNGER AGRIPPINA.





NERO'S

(After the burning of Rome, Nero caused the priests, whom he accused of the crime, to be envelope



TORCHES.

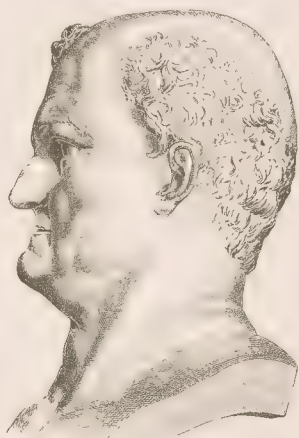
ed in wrappers, and burned like torches. In the centre of the plate is Nero in his litter as a spectator.)

THE EMPERORS.

eration. Indeed, he began his rule, if weakly, still with good purposes, and introduced various useful measures. But soon he became a pliant tool in the hands of his freedmen, and especially in those of his young wife, Messalina, who was a match for any of the Caesars in ferocity and sensuality, and in both most open and shameless, until she fell a victim to the jealousy of her own husband. The Roman women of this period, and those of the court above all, were fully as depraved as the men. True there were still noble women, such as the elder Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus; but those whose vices and crimes figure in history are more numerous than those who have won a name for virtue.

To these bad women also belonged the younger Agrippina, the mother of Nero, who in her ambition was resolved to place her son upon the throne. She became the wife of Claudius, and the real ruler of Rome, and when she had rid herself of her husband by poison, still continued to govern in the name of her young son (54 A. D.).

Agrippina and singer, and as a charioteer, everywhere exhibiting his talents in public, and intoxicated with the servile or ironical applause of the crowd. Rome was devastated by fire, and the rumour ran that it was done by Nero's command; but he laid the charge upon the Christians, whom he persecuted; while he set himself to rebuild the city more splendidly than ever. For



VESPASIAN.



TITUS.

thought that she had provided well for Nero when she placed the wise Seneca at his side as tutor and adviser, and the brave and experienced Burrhus at the head of military affairs. And in fact everything in the provinces went on excellently. But soon her ambition and jealousy brought her into conflict with these men; and, what was worse, Nero outgrew his mother's authority. Married to Poppaea Sabina, previously the worthless wife of the worthless Otho, he plunged into debauchery, and soon murder and slaughter began anew. Burrhus was put to death; Seneca was forced to kill himself, and Agrippina fell at last a victim to repeated attempts at assassination, directed by her son, and arranged with a kind of cold-blooded refinement. But bloodshed was not enough to stifle the remorse of the matricide. He travelled about as an actor, a harp-player

himself he built a palace, "the Golden House," of colossal dimensions, and the most extravagant and insane magnificence. Rome endured him for fourteen years, and then he too perished by the dagger in his own desperate hand.

The rule of imperial maniacs had lasted more than fifty years. The world was sick for a just and wise ruler, and it was not yet unworthy of one. After the empire had gone through a short civil war under Otho, Galba, and Vitellius, three more or less unworthy or incapable pretenders, the legions in Syria raised to the imperial throne their general Vespasian, who was at that time (69 A. D.) on the point of crushing a revolt of the Jews.

With Vespasian begins a new epoch, a period of vigour and conquest abroad, and of good and wise government at home; and this period lasted, not without interruption, it is true, till 180 A. D., or more than a century. Only at the beginning and the end do we find hereditary successors to the empire; in all other cases the emperor adopts as his son and successor whomsoever he deems the worthiest. Under this system the empire prospered, while the principle of legitimacy, gone a like change. But Vespasian healed the wounds of the empire, opened the prisons, recalled the exiles, checked corruption, improved the public morals, restored order to the finances, and reformed the slack discipline of the army. Frugal even to sordidness, he lived simply as a private citizen, in a villa open to all comers, instead of a palace. But he held the reins of government in a firm hand; to the senate he restored its freedom, and rendered harmless those virtuous but unpractical enthusiasts for the republic, the disciples of Cato, of whom a few still remained. But the philosophers were not to his taste, and he packed them all out of Rome. His reign lacked grace and dignity, but it was healthful for Rome, for Italy, and for the whole empire. After ten years of rule, he died a natural death, standing, as he thought it became an emperor to die, and with a jest—he loved a joke upon his lips. "I think I am turning to a god," he said, alluding to the apotheosis of the Neros.

He was succeeded by his son, Titus Flavius Vespasianus (79 A. D.), famed under the name of Titus as one of the best rulers whom the world has seen. From his rather wild

which usually produces security and stability, here, with a single exception, only placed upon the throne abnormal beings, moral monsters, even more strangely unnatural than those of the Julian line.

To the empire Vespasian was a second Augustus, but with the refined and aristocratic nature of Octavianus lowered to a popular, not to say a vulgar, type. The time had under-



GALBA.

THE EMPERORS.

youth Rome had looked for a new Tiberius or Nero upon the throne ; but he happily disappointed the expectation, and in the short period of two years, which was all that fate granted him, he won the title of " Darling of the human race." When taken away—as the suspicion ran, poisoned by his brother Domitian—he made room indeed for a second Tiberius, at once less intelligent and more repulsive than the first. Yet even Domitian began with an attempt, or the pretence of an attempt, to govern with virtue and justice ; but the path of blood, once trodden, drew him irresistibly on. By nature malicious, low, suspicious and cruel, he retired into inaccessible solitude, from which he despatched his orders of death. But when he was about to strike those who stood nearest to him, they were beforehand with him.

The senate then (96 A. D.) raised to the vacant throne a brave but old man, Cocceius Nerva, whose best and worthiest action was the adoption of Trajan. Trajan (98-117 A. D.) was such an emperor as the empire needed ; of mature years, endowed with all virtues and all gifts ; handsome and manly, just and mild, wise and brave, well tried both in council and on the field.

whom he founded asylums. Literature and art, which had declined under the tyrants, began to flourish anew ; and the empire again produced great, if not classical, writers, both Latin and Greek. With a strong hand he defended the frontiers of the empire, and even enlarged them, reducing, by a series of hard-fought campaigns, Dacia, the land beyond the Danube, to a province, and afterward making it Roman by establishing colonies, founding cities, and constructing roads and bridges. A more dangerous enemy was threatening Rome in the Parthians, who were pressing westward. Trajan tore from them Armenia, conquered their chief cities, and penetrated deeper into the ancient Persian empire than any Roman general before him. But in this war he fell.

His successor by adoption, Aelius Hadrianus, was not a man supremely endowed like Trajan, but he was experienced in war, a man of learning and a friend of art, an excellent ruler for a more peaceful time. Under him art and letters flourished. Reversing the custom of the Caesars of the Julian line, he seemed at first inclined to severity, but reason and clemency pre-



TRAJAN.

A Spaniard by birth Rome and Italy no longer produced such sons — he had made his own way ; and when he succeeded to the throne he was in command of the legions on the Rhine. What Vespasian had begun, he continued. He sought to give Italy new life by infusing fresh strength drawn from the provinces. His humanity and affection extended even to the children, for

veiled, and soon the empire recognized the hand of a just ruler. In order to know and determine all personally, he travelled through the provinces like a pilgrim, on horseback or on foot, and among the rest visited Egypt, where he lost his favourite, the young and beautiful Antinous, who drowned himself in the Nile.

No worse ruler succeeded, nor was there any interruption to good government. Under Antoninus Pius (138-161 A. D.), Hadrian's adopted son, Rome and the empire saw peaceful and happy times, such as they had hardly yet known. Antoninus reigned with justice and beneficence, with wisdom and economy. He was truly a sage upon the throne, and not only a sage but a benefactor, who wished to make the world happier and better, as far as that might be possible under such a state of affairs as the Roman empire presented. To a certain extent it was possible, with the help of a new impulse, which under these emperors first comes forward as an important factor in civilization. Under their just and tolerant rule Christianity began to emerge from its humble obscurity, to extend itself and find friends and adherents in the highest circles, even at the court and in the family of the emperor. Preaching a virtuous life, self-denial, the equality of all men before God, whether high or low, rich or poor, free or slave; preaching a doctrine of love, it could not fail to become a moral, before it became a political, power, and a ruling church. This influence, calming men's minds, tempering passions, and diffusing love, is not difficult to recognize in the age of the Antonines. It was perhaps the happiest time of Christianity, and beyond question the happiest of the empire; but it was of but short duration.

Antoninus Pius, the sage, had adopted as his successor another sage in Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A. D.), who, like himself, was a disciple of the Stoics and of Epiktetos. Vespasian had driven the philosophers from Rome, but in Marcus Aurelius a true philosopher sat upon the throne. He was without experience in war and statesmanship, but he regarded virtue alone as happiness, and vice as misery, and all that men accounted good fortune or things to be desired were to him matters of small account. Thus he thought, and thus he lived, and this would have been sufficient, even for an emperor, had his lot been cast in peaceful times. But suddenly the dangers that had for awhile been sleeping, on the frontiers of the empire, awoke, more formidable than ever. In the east the Parthians were pressing hard upon Syria; from the north the Germans crossed the Danube, passed the Alps, and stood before Aquileia. A new impulse, a spirit of unrest, of wandering, of adventure and conquest, had entered the Germanic races; and the Marcomanni, Quadi, and other tribes had united, and were threatening as in the days of Marius. But the philosopher showed himself able to cope with dangers; he dropped the pen which he could use so well, and drew the sword, and the great war with the Marcomanni, which he conducted to a victorious close, proved him a general and a hero.

Unhappily Marcus Aurelius had a son, who succeeded him upon the throne. With Commodus (180-192 A. D.), whose chief pleasure lay in fighting as a gladiator in the circus, or transfixing with his unerring arrows wild beasts or birds on the wing, amid the shouts of the populace, the golden age came to an end. Enemies without, detecting the weakness of the empire, and themselves grown strong and expert in war, in campaigns either against Rome or under her eagles, now gave the empire no repose; one incompetency succeeded another upon the throne; sometimes the praetorians made the emperor, sometimes the senate, and sometimes the legions; and he who was strongest for the moment, or offered the highest price, took the prize.

As a rule, the best emperors were those chosen by the legions, for they were their own generals, and experienced in war; those who succeeded by virtue of their birthright were the

THE EMPERORS.



MARCUS AURELIUS.
Equestrian statue in the Capitol.

worst. To the former class belonged Septimius Severus, who only seated himself firmly on the throne after hard fighting with several strong competitors. But he had the misfortune to have two sons. The murder of his brother raised Caracalla to the imperial purple, a worthy peer of Caligula and Nero. It was hereditary succession also that not long after placed Elagabalus on the throne, an effeminate debauchee, whose Syrian priesthood had initiated him when a boy into all the licentiousness of the East ; and this he brought with him to Rome, where

he let women rule, and was himself ruled by women. His successor, Alexander Severus, who had been well brought up by his wise mother Mammaea, was a good emperor; too good indeed for his soldiers, who murdered him in the camp. Among the various pretenders who followed (235 A. D.), one, Maximinus, was a Thracian athlete; and not long after a son of the desert, a former Bedouin chief, Philip the Arabian, became lord of the Roman world. Emperor followed emperor, hurrying by, fighting, conquering, murdering each other. Under Valerian the empire seemed to have obtained a short breathing-time, but still worse days succeeded. In the East, in the place of the Parthians, had arisen a new Persian empire which aimed at restoring the old sovereignty of Cyrus and Darius. Valerian was taken prisoner by the Persian king, and the lord of the world had to hold the stirrup of the barbarian monarch, and bend his neck to be trodden on when his captor mounted his horse. In the empire pretenders to the throne arose on all sides. Rome was virtually without a ruler, German hosts under bold chiefs harried and plundered the provinces, and in the East, upon Roman soil, arose a new independent kingdom at Palmyra.

But the strength of the empire was not yet exhausted, and the need of the times still produced leaders able to front the dangers and capable of ruling—such as Aurelianus, who drove the Alemanni again out of Italy, fortified Rome with strong walls, avenged Valerian on the Persians, and destroyed the kingdom of Palmyra, taking its queen Zenobia captive. Another was Aurelius Probus, who even succeeded in bringing back a share of prosperity to the devastated provinces on the frontier.

But the man for the time arose in Diocletian. Born in Dalmatia, the son of a freed-man, the builder of his own fortunes, he defended the empire with great energy and skill. Nor did he defend it merely, he reorganized it. He did away with all the ancient relics of the republic, and even blotted out their very memories; consuls, tribunes, censors ceased to be, even in name. The emperor, inaccessible, or approached only with Asiatic servility, apparelled in silk and gold, secured by his splendour and his majesty from every familiarity, reigned alone with his ministers. The Roman senate, that had ruled the world, crowned and uncrowned kings, and made emperors, was degraded to the municipal council of the city. Rome ceased to be the imperial residence, and only the glory that lingered around her made her still seem the queen of the world. Diocletian recognized the fact that Rome stood too far from the frontiers, now always threatened; but he also perceived that no single man could now make head against all the troubles and dangers, the incessant storms, to which the empire was exposed. In Maximianus he took a partner in rule, whom, like himself, he styled Augustus, and each Augustus had an associate called Caesar. Thus the government was divided into four parts, with the respective capitals at Milan, Treves, Sirmium in Pannonia, and Nikomedeia. All were tried and skilful soldiers, and so long as the superior authority of Diocletian preserved concord among them, the empire was well administered; but the moment it ceased, discord and intestine war broke out.

In the year 305 A. D., Diocletian, then at Nikomedeia, fell sick, and retired, weary of the throne, to private life. He fixed his residence at Salona in Dalmatia, where he had built a stately palace by the sea, and here the man who with steady hand had guided a distracted world, let the storms sweep by, and passed peaceful days in raising his vegetables and tending his flowers. And the storms raged in all their fury, from one side of the empire to the other. Augustus after Augustus, and Caesar after Caesar fell, until again but a single one was left, a cold, hard soul, to whose hands clung the blood of his kindred and his fellow-emperors, Constantine, called "the Great." In the year 312 A. D. the battle at the Milvian bridge, under the

THE EMPERORS.

walls of Rome, made him lord of the West ; twelve years later he overthrew his last rival in Asia Minor, and the empire again had but a single master.

Constantine is in two ways an important figure in history. The centre of gravity of the empire, which still stretched from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, he transferred to the East, at the junction of Europe and Asia. As his capital he selected Byzantium, that city supremely happy in its site, at the meeting of two seas and two continents, and gave it the name of Constantinopolis, thus founding the Byzantine empire. He also gave to Christianity, which Diocletian had persecuted, civic rights proportioned to its extent. He had himself long been favourably inclined to this faith ; and on his death-bed (337 A. D.) he became a Christian.

Like Augustus, Constantine had much unhappiness in his family, and not without his own heavy fault. The trouble continued in the contention of his sons, whom he had left to rule the empire jointly, until at last his nephew Julian (361 A. D.) became solitary ruler. A remarkable man was this Julian, whom history, that calls Constantine "Great," has stigmatized with the title of "Apostate." In faith a heathen, a devout believer in the old gods, he was a phil-



CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

emergency, and suddenly displayed not only great energy but real military genius. With a tempest-like rush that reminds one of Alexander the Great, he swept all resistance before him and won the most complete and brilliant victory. When he had also triumphed over his associate in the empire, he ruled alone, wisely, justly, and temperately. His first act was to clear the court of its vast rabble of cooks, hair-dressers, valets, and other varieties of the lackey species. Instead of the imperial purple, he wore the philosophic cloak ; and those who flattered at him he mocked in sarcastic pamphlets with gibes as keen as their own. He restored the worship of the ancient gods, and of Apollo especially, the Sun-god, the object of his peculiar adoration ; and if he did not persecute the Christians, he strove to check the growth of Christianity and bring it into disrepute. But even had he not been on the point of invading the Persians with the same tempestuous energy as the Alemanni, and had not an early death in battle carried him off, Christianity would still have gained the victory.

His successor, the last great emperor, who also reigned alone, Theodosius, not only

osopher in his ways of thinking, but a philosopher of the school of the Stoics, despising the splendours of the world and even the comforts of life. While yet young and studying philosophy in Athens, he was called to a share in the government, and had at once to take command in the war against the Alemanni, who with combined forces had invaded Gaul more formidably than ever. But, like Marcus Aurelius before, the young philosopher showed himself equal to the

ROME.

reinstated Christianity in its rights, but established it as the religion of the state, and the day of the ancient gods was done. The oracles grew dumb, the temples were closed, destroyed, or transformed to Christian churches; the sacrifices ceased and the altar-fires died out; even the sacred flame on the hearth of Vesta was extinguished.

Not many years more, and the Roman state fell as the Roman gods had fallen. Hitherto the Germans had attacked the empire only on its borders; or single warlike chiefs had traversed the provinces in rapid and bold forays, taking cities by sudden assault, laying them in ashes, and returning, laden with spoil, to their native lands. In this way the Germans had harried Asia Minor, Greece and its islands, Spain, and even Africa. But now it was whole populations that, forced from their homes by some violent shock, fell upon the empire, not seeking plunder, but lands and a new home; and the provinces, Italy, and Rome itself were doomed to fall into their hands.

The impulse which had started the movement came from the East. The ancient Orient had again burst forth like a volcano, and the lava-stream flowed westward. But this time the movement was not through Asia Minor and across the Hellespont, but north of the Black Sea and of the Alps. Tribes of Mongol race, barbarian populations of the steppes, known as Huns, broke through between the Caspian Sea and the Ural. The first blow struck the Alans, the second the Ostrogoths, the third the Visigoths. The last were driven across the Danube, and made their appearance, with their families and herds, in Thrace. The emperor Valens tried to drive them back, but both he and his army perished in the disastrous defeat at Adrianople (378 A. D.). Thus the dyke which the legions had hitherto presented was broken, and the torrent swept over the empire. Hardly could Theodosius, partly by fighting and partly by negotiation, check for a short time the progress of the flood.

Theodosius died almost as soon as he had become sole emperor, (395 A. D.) leaving the empire divided between his two sons. The East, with its capital Constantinople, he gave to his elder son, the youth Arcadius; the West, whose capital was now Ravenna, fell to the boy Honorius. Henceforth the two empires remain separated. The East was to enjoy a certain prosperity and even to produce arts and letters of the kind that we call Byzantine. Endowed with a peculiar toughness, this Byzantine empire withstood the religious enthusiasm of the Arabs, the attacks of the Slavs, the stormy passage of the crusades, until it had endured a full thousand years, and then fell, not ingloriously. Not so fortunate was the empire of the West.

If Rome still stood for a while longer, the cause lay not in the remains of her strength, for there were none. But Italy had still gold enough to buy the services of the barbarians themselves. Well-disciplined Germans were her defenders and Teutonic princes her leaders, who ruled instead of the weak emperor. Thus many an attack was repelled, and at Chalons an end put to the victorious advance of Attila, "the Scourge of God;" and the Asiatic wave rolled back, having only washed Italy in passing. But Stilicho and his successors, the Roman commanders of German descent, could not prevent Italy from being again and again harried by the Germans. In 410 A. D., Alaric the Visigoth captured and plundered the Eternal City; and in 452 Geiserich the Vandal subjected her to a fate even worse. Nor could they prevent Britain from becoming the prey of the Saxons, Gaul and Spain from being seized by the Franks and Visigoths, nor the Vandals from founding an African kingdom, with Carthage as its capital.

Italy still remained, in the last extremity of weakness, protected by the Germans. What hindered the protectors from becoming the lords? And so it befell. Odoacer was the first, who, in 476 A. D., took the crown and called himself King of Italy. More than twelve hundred years had passed from the foundation of the city, when the empire fell, and fell forever.



Forum Boarium.

Temple of Jupiter.

Arx.

Tabularium.

Temple at the Forum Romanum

Basilica Sempronia.

THE CAPITOL, SEEN FROM MT. PALATINE. RESTORATION

BOOK II.

LIFE AND MANNERS.

1.

ROME, THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE.



WHILE Rome the empire grew and flourished, adding city after city and land after land to her originally small territory, Rome the city also was growing as the centuries went by, joining field after field, hill after hill, and valley after valley to its original boundaries. To the Palatine, where later arose the palaces of the Caesars, was added the Capitoline hill, which, crowned by its citadel and the temple of the chief of the gods, remained during all periods of the empire its ideal and consecrated centre. Then the city extended itself to the Quirinal, the Caelian hill, south-

ROME.

ward to the Aventine, westward to the Esquiline, covered the low grounds drained by the subterranean cloacae, crossed the Tiber, ascended the Mons Janiculus, and finally stretched northward with a host of splendid public buildings into the plain of the Campus Martius. In this way the City of the Seven Hills arose.

Thus is Rome a historical city, that is to say, her growth kept pace with the history of the state; she did not spring into existence suddenly, like Alexandria or Antiochia, the creation of a sovereign, laid out by line and rule according to a well-ordered plan. And she preserved the characteristics of her origin, even long after she had become the mistress of the world. Narrow, irregular, planless streets straggled up and down the hills, built with small, badly-constructed houses. The conflagration of the Gauls swept these hovels away, but the city was rebuilt hastily, unsubstantially, and with no regular design. Nowhere was there a fine vista, nowhere a pleasing prospect; a view from the hills showed only a confused labyrinth. Down to the time of Pyrrhos the roofs were covered with shingles. As the city grew within its walls, and building-space became scarce and dear, the tenant-houses, contrary to antique custom, were run up to a great height, with seven, eight, and perhaps even more storeys, which not only darkened the narrow streets, and increased the danger of fire, but also often fell by their own weight.

But in the last century of the Republic, Rome, growing conscious of her greatness, began to transform herself. The Scipios had lived modestly in unpretentious habitations; men like Lucullus, Scaurus, Crassus, who had conquered kings and commanded kingdoms, and returned to Rome laden with regal treasures, wished to live in palaces. And as the spoil of conquered lands began to pour into Rome, there suddenly arose a luxury, a taste for splendid architecture; but the city had grown too great to be changed all at once. In the year 100 B. C. the house of Marcus Crassus with its garden was valued at three millions sesterces, and with three superb lotos-trees that stood in the garden, at double the amount, or say \$232,000. The house of the knight Caius Aquilius, which was thought the finest in Rome, was valued at twice that sum. Such palaces were rare at the time; but fifty years later there were over a hundred, equalling or even surpassing these. Splendid public buildings also arose. He who travelled the road of politics needed the favour of the people, and to gain this he erected great public structures, temples, forums, a circus or a basilica, baths or theatres, the last often mere temporary affairs, built on credit, with the hope of finding means of repayment in the plunder of the provinces.

But all these structures, palaces and public buildings were islands in the sea of Rome. Augustus, who in his shrewd policy encouraged the leading men of the state to build on a grand scale, succeeded in effecting such a change that he could boast that he had found the city of brick and left it of marble; yet even he was not able to rid it of its irregularity, narrowness, and confusion. Then came the great fire in Nero's reign, and cleared all this away. More than two-thirds of the old Rome lay in ashes, and all historical and public buildings of the time of the Republic were destroyed. There was now room for a new city; and a new one Nero built, as well as the hilly ground would permit, with wide, regular streets, in many of which the old projecting *tabernae* or booths were replaced by arcades; he adorned it with temples, forums, stately palaces, for which Numidia, Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor furnished white or coloured marbles, and Egypt its porphyry. For himself he built a palace, the "Golden House," which in itself was almost a city. Stretching down from the Palatine through the valley, and up the Esquiline again, he took in whole sections and streets, closing even the historical Sacred Way, the witness of so many triumphs and solemn processions. Colonnades a Roman mile in length, fish-ponds "like lakes," gardens and woods, animals tame

ROME, THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE.

and wild—whatever of rare, beautiful or wonderful the earth contained was found in this palace. When he had finished his gilded halls, adorned with ivory, pearls, and precious stones, Nero said that now for the first time he was lodged like a human being.

By Nero's improvements Rome, though it had not yet completely cast off its old character, had yet become a noble and stately city, as became the mistress of the world. Succeeding emperors, such as Vespasian and Titus, even Domitian, then Trajan, Hadrian, and the



THE AURELIAN WALL.

With part of the Campagna, and the Sabine mountains in the background.

Antonines, followed his example ; and if they had not to rebuild the city, yet they erected for the public service or gratification many splendid and imposing buildings. Vespasian, it is true, pulled down the greater part of Nero's Golden House, to open the Sacred Way again to the people, but in the lake-like pond he erected that enormous amphitheatre which even in its ruins still amazes us. Where the Golden House had taken in the Esquiline hill, Titus built those immense baths and porticoes for the people, the *thermae*, which surpassed all previous structures of the kind. Even Caracalla followed the example, then Diocletian and Constantine, with similar, or even greater buildings, the ruins of which we can still admire, and, on paper at least, restore. But with Constantine, whose heart was set on founding a new capital, not

ROME.

beautifying the old, all this came to an end. Before him, Aurelian, fearing the invasions of the barbarians, had surrounded the city with a strong wall, and thus fixed its boundaries. Henceforth it was never to fill even these limits.

Imperial Rome had become the wonder of the world. True, in those parts where business was transacted, the streets were inconveniently crowded; booths, taverns, dealers, stalls, although often cleared away, kept ever thrusting out from the houses into the street; and equally vain had been the attempts to prevent the houses from being built to such a monstrous height. But as early as the days of the Republic they had begun to pave the streets, Rome being the first city in the world to adopt this improvement; and under the emperors all

travel passed over a smooth, well-jointed pavement of hewn stone, resting on a solid foundation. The street was paved with hard lava, and the sidewalk with peperino.

The stranger visiting Rome saw in the streets and squares matter for marvel at every step. Plundered Greece had furnished thousands of statues and other works of art, which adorned squares and buildings everywhere; and skilled Greek artists, whose services were more and more



FOUNTAIN OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS AT ROME

in request, had the practice and traditions that enabled them to produce new and admirable works. A system of sewers drained the city, carrying off the sewage to the Tiber and the sea; while great aqueducts, carried on bold arches over valleys, chasms, roads and streams, brought to the city, from many miles away, the cool and clear water of the mountains. The water thus supplied in abundance, gushed forth from artistic grottoes or decorated fountains, ornaments of the city, and to this day a blessing to the inhabitants, refreshing the air and giving protection against fever.

In imperial Rome it was the palaces of the rich, and the public buildings which produced the strongest impression upon the eye, with their colonnades, their surfaces of many-coloured marbles, porphyry, and other precious materials. Many of them were either surrounded with gardens, or had gardens attached, with plantations of trees, and shady walks. Gardens indeed, were everywhere in Rome; some within the low and extensive palaces of the rich, whose walls the trees overtopped, and others admirably laid out upon the hills, such as the gardens of Lucullus, Sallust, and Maecenas. The people loved shade, green foliage and flowers, and when there was no other place, they made gardens on the roofs. The whole Campus Martius,

ROME, THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE.

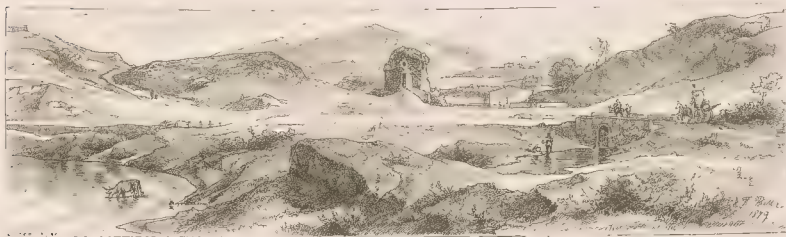


RUINS OF A ROMAN AQUEDUCT.
The Alban hills in the distance.

with all its various buildings, was like one great public garden with wide stretches of green-sward, around and through which ran shaded alleys of greenery. This was a favourite resort of the inhabitants, who exercised on the turf, raced in chariots or on horseback up and down the drives, promenaded under the trees, or reposed in the cool shade.

From the heights around, magnificent views were to be had of and over the city, for neither the prospect nor the city itself was bounded by the walls. Rome had long outgrown its ancient limits and become one with the surrounding country. Now within the Aurelian wall, and on those hills where stood the most ancient and most splendid districts of old Rome, is desolation, if not a wilderness; and solitude reigns over the wide Campagna, save where here and there a shepherd is seen pasturing his flock in the lonely fields. Over the treeless, undulating expanse, over the heaps of ruins, the last relics of a mighty past, rest an infinite melancholy, the silence of death, and, saddest of all, the fever-laden air which has turned this region, once so blooming, so full of busy life, into a desert and a charnel. But the bloom and the life were in the days of the Republic and the Empire, when the Rome of triumphs, the Rome of Trajan and the Antonines, still stood in its splendour. The roads from the city, when they left the gates, entered a landscape dotted with palaces, villas, villages and cities, with gardens and groves, monuments and statues, traversed by the arcades of aqueducts, and all connected and continuous as if a single city stretched from the seven hills to the sea, to the mouth of the Tiber, then crowded with ships, yard-arm to yard-arm, bearing the wealth of the world—now choking its neglected channel with mud and rubbish.

Rome had grown thus flourishing and strong at the cost of her provinces, whose wealth

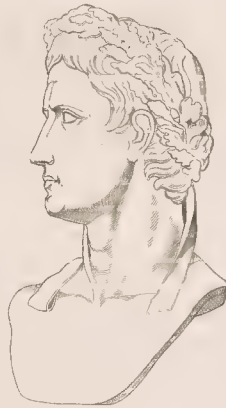


RUINS IN THE CAMPAGNA.

poured without ceasing into her walls ; but the empire repaid in various ways what they did for the city. It is true that in the later centuries of the Republic, the legions traversed the lands like bands of destroying angels. Italy herself had suffered cruelly in the civil and servile wars, and worse yet in the times of Sulla and Marius, and the whole population had been decimated ; Africa had seen its great capital, Carthage, the source of its civilization, swept from the face of the earth ; Spain, in its perpetual revolts and wars, had endured inexpressible miseries, devastated and plundered, while Caesar in a few years did almost as much for Gaul. Greece, after her terrible experiences in the Mithradatic war, sank lower and lower ; her cities were abandoned, flocks and herds pastured among her monuments, and her islands, once blooming and rich, the seats of arts and letters, were deserted. Asia Minor and Syria, the inexhaustible gold-mines of the Roman nobles, the fountains of wealth to the gripping capitalists, the spoil of Italian speculators, were plundered and drained without mercy or respite ; the sea itself was no longer free ; for long years pirates had so infested it that commerce and travel ceased, and more than once Rome and all Italy were threatened with famine.

Thus misery prevailed everywhere when Augustus and the empire gave peace to the world ; long, undisturbed, and universal peace such as it had never before known. If the legions were fighting along the frontiers, within their guardian circle there was multiplied everywhere ; and the Graeco-Roman civilization spread even through Gaul, Spain, and Britain. The world of so many civilized and uncivilized peoples was fused into a single empire, ruled by a single will, and a single civilization, expressed in two tongues. Greek and Latin were learned and spoken from the Atlantic ocean to the Syro-Arabian desert, from Gades to Palmyra.

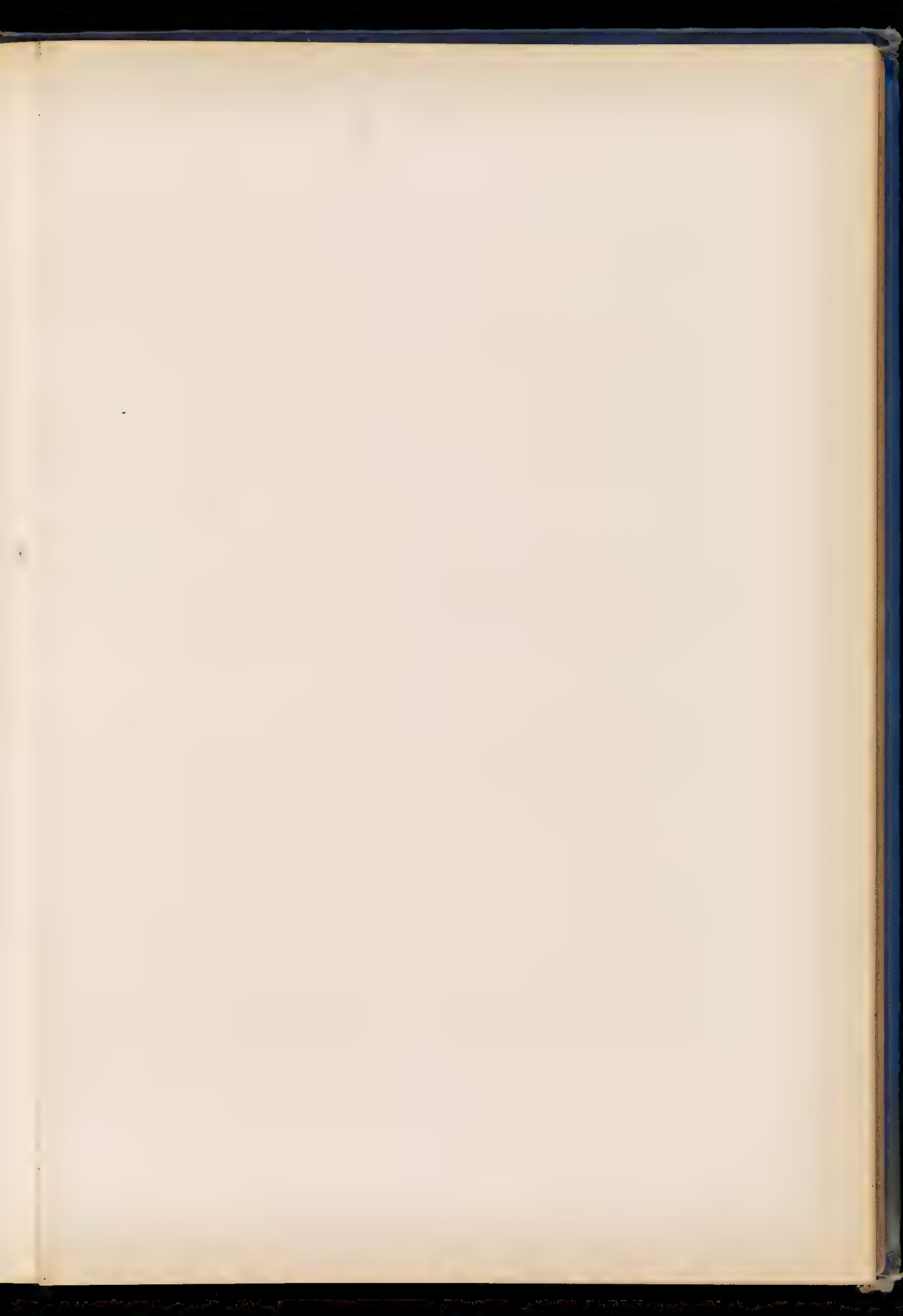
The countries flourished again. Italy occupied herself with pasturage and stock-raising. Little by little she had lost her small farmers, the strength of old Rome ; their little properties had been swallowed up in the *latifundia* or great estates of the Roman nobles, who cultivated them by means of troops of slaves. But they were well cultivated, and Italy is described as resembling a blooming garden. Farmhouses, villas, villages were scattered over the land ; the number of its cities was said to be far more than a thousand. Innumerable were the country-seats and summer-palaces of the noble and the rich, who were only too happy to escape from the heat and dust and noise of the crowded, busy capital. These villas were at the seaside, at the watering-places, on the breezy heights of the hills, in broad sunny valleys, in



AUGUSTUS.

peace throughout all the provinces and peace upon the sea. The empire brought orderly government, secured the provinces from oppression, protected the cities in their municipal freedom, the best foundation of their prosperity, fostered commerce, and guarded the ways by land and water.

And indeed life and prosperity revived throughout all the empire in the long peace which it enjoyed almost without a break for more than two hundred years. Wealth was once more accumulated, the roads were alive with travel and traffic, the cities grew and



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ROME, THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE.

shady solitudes far from the great highways—as suited the cravings of weary souls or enfeebled bodies. Gaul and Spain, with the vigorous life of half-barbarian uncorrupted races, when once imbued with classic civilization and letters, undisturbed from within and without, bloomed with all the strength and freshness of spring. Gaul is said to have counted twelve hundred municipal towns, many far greater and more splendid than at the present day. Cities like Massilia (Marseille) and Augustodunum (Autun) became centres of the highest classical culture, and were sought to from far and wide by students of the Greek and Roman learning. In Africa, Carthage arose once more, and contended with Alexandria for the second place in greatness and magnificence. The city of Alexander, which now numbered a million inhabitants within her walls, was the first commercial city, and the centre of



ROMAN AMPHITHEATRE IN ARLES.

luxury. And so for Greece also, in these two centuries of peace there was once more a happy time, a kind of latter summer, though a period without creative genius, without fire and enthusiasm. The cities rejoiced in prosperity and life; and some, like Athens, now again the loquacious city of rhetoricians and philosophers, adorned themselves anew with splendid works of architecture.

So was it everywhere. Even in the most distant regions build-



ROMAN AMPHITHEATRE AT VERONA

spirit, that unconquerable will, making light of every difficulty, which the Julian emperors had shown in their constructions, made thenceforth all obstacles seem trifling, and gave a stamp of greatness to every building for public uses. The emperors were never wanting in this care for the provinces. Hadrian, in his sixteen years of pilgrimaging throughout the empire, was followed by a whole legion of architects, builders, craftsmen and artists, who, whenever the emperor determined on a building, at once took it in hand. Patriotic and wealthy citizens erected at their own cost public buildings, some for instruction or amusement, others for

learning of the world. Many Asiatic cities fell but little short of her, some in brilliancy, others in size, others again in refinement, such as Antiocheia, Nikomedeia, Caesarea, Ephesus, and Smyrna the pearl of Ionia. The small strip of Asiatic coast that was called the province of Asia boasted five hundred cities. Like Carthage, Corinth also had risen from its ashes, and again become a centre of commerce and a seat of

ings for use or for pleasure arose, whose number and stateliness move our wonder, even in their ruins. The Roman passion for building spread over the whole world. That determined

ROME.

civic uses. Thus throughout the whole empire the cities decked themselves with colonnades, with temples and basilicas, with libraries, baths, theatres and amphitheatres, which, with their statues, bronzes and mosaics showed, and still show, that art and noble craftsmanship existed over the whole empire. Underground sewers purified the cities, marshes were drained, dangerous streams arched over, rivers bridged, and pure, wholesome water brought in, often from great distances. Cities and towns rejoiced in sanitary precautions which throw those of the present day completely into the shade.

And this was done, not only in the ancient seats of civilization and enlightenment, but even in the prov-
so much of Germany as came under the Roman rule. All along the Rhine and the Danube arose populous cities rich in art and luxury, such as Strasburg, Mayence, Cologne, Treves—whose vast remains of Roman buildings still carry us back to the days when it was an imperial residence—Augsburg, and the vanished cities Carnuntum and Virodunum. In this region innumerable discoveries testify to the existence of a highly developed civilization and art.

All this was due, to no slight extent, to the Roman system of war and conquest. Wherever a Roman army marched, there
dius, the great southern road through Latium and the Pomptine marshes. They laid out these roads always in as nearly a direct line as possible, keeping in the plains when they could, but not hesitating to cut through hills, to fill up morasses, to carry viaducts over chasms, and to bridge the widest and swiftest rivers, such as the Danube and the Rhine. The materials and mode of construction varied necessarily with the district: often it preserved its original character of a smooth but unpaved road; but where greater solidity was required, the bed of the road, first slightly rounded, was paved with polygonal blocks of hewn stone, which, fitting exactly to each other, had the firmness of an arch. This was the con-

inces just wrested from the barbarians, and still exposed to their attacks. Thus Britain, with its tattooed inhabitants, rapidly became a land of refinement, that could not now dispense with its baths, its theatres, and other luxuries of Græco-Roman life. So it was with

was built a road; wherever it fixed a permanent camp, there arose a town. From the earliest times it had been a fundamental principle with them that the first step to secure a newly conquered province was to make a good military road through it. In this way was built the first and most famous of all, the Appian Way, a work of the censor Appius Clau-



ROMAN AQUEDUCT AT GARD, SOUTH OF FRANCE.



PORTA NIGRA IN TREVES.

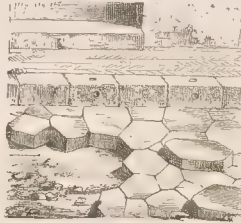
ROME, THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE.

struction of the Appian Way, which remains in use to the present time, though the life that once thronged it has passed away, ruins line its sides, and the land through which it runs is desolate and abandoned.

Roads such as these the Romans gradually built through the whole empire, even to the most distant and advanced military posts, which thus were provided with the means of easy retreat or access. Like the threads of a spider's web they radiated from Rome, and formed a network all over the provinces. The

emperors, if not before, there was a regular and well-ordered postal service, which transmitted with great celerity all news or despatches of importance between Rome and the provinces, or from one province to another, and for this service relays of horses and vehicles stood

distances were marked out by milestones; and there were itineraries or schemes of travel indicating the distances from point to point, the various stages and the necessary quarters for the night; so that a traveller to any point of the empire could exactly plan his journey beforehand. The state found another advantage in these roads. Under



ROMAN PAVEMENT.

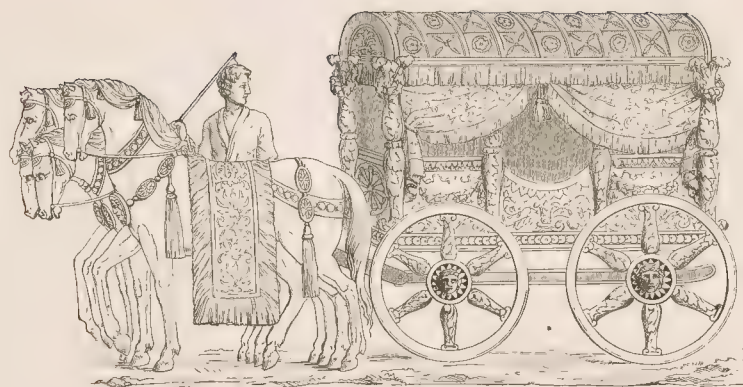


VIEW OF THE CAMPAGNA FROM THE VILLA APPIA

In the centre the monument of Cecilia Metella, wall of Rome in the distance.

ready at every station. The news which was thus brought to Rome was at once published to the people through the *acta diurna*, or daily bulletins, which answered the purpose of a newspaper.

ROME.



ROMAN TRAVELLING CARRIAGE.

By this post also persons engaged in the public service might travel; and it was the most rapid mode of conveyance, making on an average eighty miles in the twenty-four hours; and the Emperor Tiberius once accomplished twice the distance in less time. Private persons journeyed more slowly. For these there were private conveyances in imitation of the public post, provided by companies, who held horses and vehicles always in readiness. Persons of rank preferred to travel in their own equipages; and usually went accompanied by such a retinue of friends, clients, and slaves as to fill a long train of carriages. There was no lack of taverns, though these did not enjoy the best reputation, and whoever could find a lodging with a friend or acquaintance, always gave it the preference.

Those roads, now so silent and deserted, were then crowded with travel. Built originally for the march of the legions, commerce, the products of industry, the yield of the soil and the mines, were perpetually moving over ities which began to fail in the Romans and Italians. Whoever had, or wished to make, a reputation, poets, men of letters, artists, virtuosi, all came to Rome. They also travelled from town to town through the provinces, to give lectures or exhibitions and make money; and Greek teachers, artists, and craftsmen were scattered through all lands. No town of the empire, however small, but had a good proportion of foreigners.

And so it was on the sea. After the close of the civil wars, peace and security reigned everywhere, and commerce undisturbed went on its ways over the whole Mediterranean. For



ROMAN MILESTONE.

ROME, THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE.

this, too, Rome was the centre of gravity that drew to itself the wealth of the whole world ; the metals of Britain and Spain, the amber of the Baltic, the silk of China, the gems of India, the spices and perfumes of Arabia, the works of art of the Greek cities, the woven fabrics of Babylonia ; all that the world could produce of things beautiful, rare, or precious, its choicest dainties, whether fish or fowl, fruit or spice, all were brought to Rome ; and he who had seen and tasted what Rome had to offer, had seen and tasted the world.

While Rome was the centre of consumption, the entrepôts and great marts that gathered and forwarded all these products were numerous. Among them all, two held the first rank : Puteoli, on the beautiful Bay of Naples, was the mart for Rome and Italy, and Alexandria,



BAY OF BAIÆ
With ruins of Roman buildings.

the Græco-Egyptian city, for the East. Between Puteoli and Alexandria there was an active commerce the greater part of the year, until the storms of latter autumn interrupted navigation, and during the cold of winter the ships were hauled up on land. The voyage from one port to the other usually took twelve days. Thus while Puteoli was a port of Rome, it was also an outport of the East. Sheltered by its capacious moles, ships from Carthage crowded those from Greece, from the Black Sea, and the enormous and strangely built galleys of Alexandria ; while the streets of the port were thronged with black faces from the African desert, brown Egyptians, Syrians and Arabians, Jews and Greeks. Even stranger was the scene in Alexandria, that vast city at the junction of two continents and facing the third, the outlet of African civilization, and mistress of the commerce of the world. The quick eye of Alexander had marked her advantages, but the union with the Roman empire first opened to her the world, from the Atlantic Ocean eastward across India to the cities of China, for so far went her wares, her traffic, and the ships of her merchants stationed in the Red Sea.

ROME.

It was a great, rich, and active life, that of these first two centuries of the empire, the cities flourishing, the land cultivated, the roads thronged with travellers and wares, and the sea with merchant fleets. It is true that works of intellect, such as Athens had created, the time could no longer produce; but all the education, all mental treasures that existed, became the common property of all lands. We can not then wonder that at this time there were eulogists of Rome who extolled her rule as a blessing to the world; for by Rome's means the world had laid aside the coat-of-mail and walked in festal robes, in splendour and in delight. Never had there been so many cities, so rich, so adorned with palaces, arenas, aqueducts, temples, buildings for use and for ornament. The world had recovered from a long sickness, and bloomed like a garden; through Rome it had gained a new life—might it but last forever! was the general wish. In vain. The limit had been set to this peace, to this prosperity, to the empire itself.



THE MAISON CARRÉE, A ROMAN TEMPLE AT NÎMES.



ROMAN BAKERY.
Restored from the excavations at Pompeii.

2.

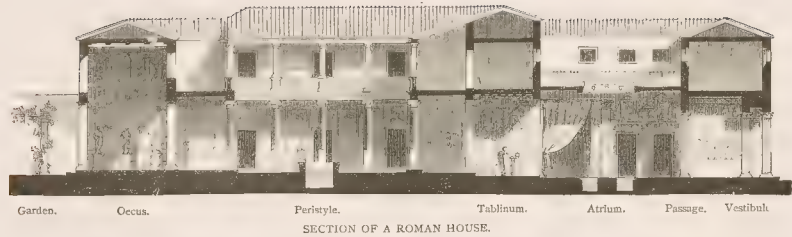
THE HOUSE AND ITS FURNITURE; THE VILLA AND THE GARDEN.



VARIOUS circumstances operated to cause the Roman house to assume very different forms. Wealth and poverty, the needs of public life, the pursuits of the nobles, the modesty of the private citizen, all had different requirements; while in the narrow streets of the capital, where building-room was scarce and dear, the house took perforce a very different form from what it had in remoter provincial cities. Moreover, the city-house naturally differed from the villa, or country-house, which, whether built at the sea-side, on a hill, or in a valley, sought light and air, and the presence of verdure and water.

Yet among all these variations the fundamental plan is easily recognizable. We must recall the distinction which we made in

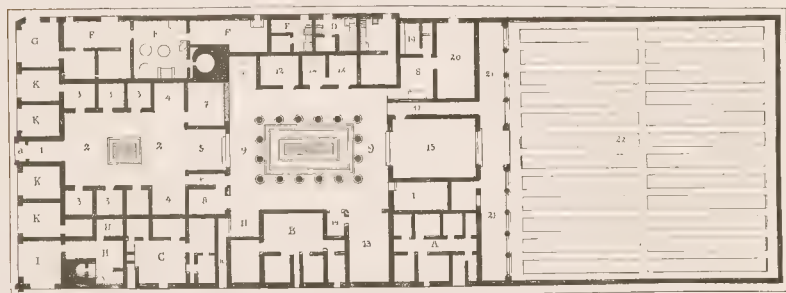
ROME.



speaking of the Greek dwellings, of the difference between the northern and southern house. The Roman, like the Greek house—for essentially they are one and the same—follows the southern plan, that is, it is built around a central court, or is, as we termed it, the house of the court, as distinguished from the house of the hall. So it was from the first, and so it remains to this day.

We have, therefore, a court, around which the apartments are built in a rectangle, into which they open, and from which they receive air and light. This simple construction was sufficient for the needs of modest private life, but not for the demands of wealthier and more distinguished families; so the original plan was doubled and trebled. Thus we see it in Pompeii, and such were the houses of the nobles at Rome. In every part and extension, a court again forms the centre. But this plan demands considerable room, and this, again, in Rome, required a large outlay. This might be no hindrance to the wealthy; but it was otherwise with the poor, and with those of limited means, or those who lived in rented houses; and thus the space that was not attainable on the ground was sought in the air. Thus arose in Rome the great tenement-houses towering to six or more storeys, and accommodating many families, often on very limited space. These they called "islands," and they usually formed a block, separated by four intersecting streets from the neighbouring houses. Yet these too adhered to the general plan, being a rectangular mass of building, inclosing one or several courts.

There were other causes operating to change the design of the villa. In the country



GROUND-PLAN OF A ROMAN HOUSE (HOUSE OF PANSA IN POMPEII)

a. Vestibule. 1. Entrance-passage. 2. Atrium. 3. Apartments. 4. Alae. 5. Tablinum. 6. Fauces. 7. Library. 8 and 11. Exedra. 9. Cavædium (Peristyle). 10. Side-entrance. 12. Chambers and dormitories. 13, 14. Triclinium and side-room. 15. Oecus. 16. Muniment room. 17. Passage to the garden. 18, 19. Kitchen and larder. 20. Stables. 21, 22. Portico and garden. A-E. Rooms rented out as dwellings. F, G. Bakery and shop. H, I. Pottery and shop. K. Shops.

THE HOUSE AND ITS FURNITURE; THE VILLA AND THE GARDEN.

men wanted a handsome prospect, looking either upon the sea or the surrounding landscape, and this at once, in opposition to the city-house, made the outside rather than the inside the point of interest and attraction, and gave rise to windows, verandahs, and external colonnades, not needed in the city. In addition, according to the season, either shade and coolness, or sunshine and warmth, were sought, and rooms were planned with this object in view. Yet with all these differences, the villa remains, after all, but the house around a court.



INTERIOR OF A ROMAN HOUSE

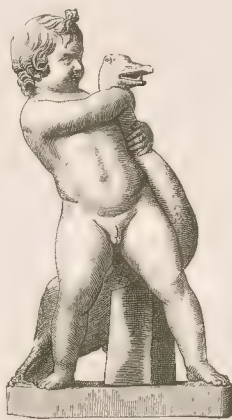
In front the atrium, with a view through the tablinum into the peristyle, with the fauces on each side; in the background the trees of the garden, on the sides of the atrium the *alae*.

The court, moreover, is not merely the local centre of the house; it is from the first its most essential part, and this it always remains. This court is the *atrium*—we are now speaking of the early and simple form of the house—and the atrium is the sanctuary of the dwelling, the place of the hearth and the sacred fire, of the domestic deities, of the figures of ancestors, and of the master and mistress, the home-room of the family. The apartments around it are sleeping-rooms or store-rooms. For these reasons the atrium at a very early period was roofed over, except a space in the centre to give light and air. Through this opening the smoke of the hearth escaped, and as it blackened the ceiling and the walls the court received the name of atrium from *ater*, black. A vestibule, entered from the street, opened into a passage—*ostium*—which led to the atrium. Such was the simple Roman house in the time of the kings, and in the first centuries of the Republic, and thus essentially it remained for the citizens of moderate means.

But customs changed, and with wealth and luxury need increased; the growing crowd of friends and clients brought the outside world into the house of the Roman of rank or con-

sequence, while increased refinement demanded greater privacy for the family, and protection from the intrusion of strangers. The master continued to receive his clients and political friends in the atrium, and as the number of these increased, the family had to retire. This produced a doubling of the house: the plan of a second court with its surrounding apartments, devoted especially to the family, intimate friends, and social life; and, as a rule, this court was in the rear of the first, though the shape of the building-ground might necessitate a different arrangement. With this doubling the Roman house was complete; and in this respect also it resembled the Greek, though the Roman woman was not, like the Athenian, secluded in a *gynaikonitis*. If need required, as was the constant case with the Roman nobles in the latter days of the Republic and under the Empire, the plan was simply multiplied.

This enlargement, however, brought about various changes in the internal arrangement, and a more specific allotment of the apartments. The atrium still remained the place where the master transacted his business, and received the outer world. The front apartments, if the house was situated in a business quarter of the city, were either made to open on the street and used as shops, or else were utilized as stables and rooms for the slaves. At the entrance a porter, the *ostiarius*, was stationed, a slave, who as a matter of precaution was not unfrequently secured by a chain. At the end of the side apartments that accompanied the atrium were two spaces open halves of the house. The *tablinum*, a large apartment, open at front and rear, and closed with curtains, was, both from its situation and symbolically, the heart of the mansion; in addition to the images of the *penates*, it contained the masks and effigies of ancestors, family archives and relics, and was thus the museum and muniment-room of the household. On the side of the *tablinum* a passage, called *fauces* or "throat," led from the front to the rear-house, from the atrium to the *cavaedium*.



BOY WITH A SWAN
Roman design for a fountain.

ing inward, called *alae*, or "wings," but these formed no necessary part of the plan. The hearth, the place of which had been in the atrium, was now removed to the rear, where was a proper kitchen, well furnished for all culinary requirements. The meals had formerly been taken in the atrium, but now a special dining-room, the *triclinium*, was allotted to this purpose. By the removal of the hearth, the *penates*, or images of the household gods, had lost their place; so for these a distinct room was provided, called the *tablinum*, which was placed between the two

This *cavaedium*, or "hollow of the house," was in its construction essentially a repetition of the atrium, but as it was the living-room of the family, and the place for receiving intimate friends and personal intercourse, it was as a rule more handsomely ornamented and appointed. The *cavaedium* was usually surrounded by a portico, which even in a country-town like Pompeii was quite an imposing affair; that in the so-called "House of the Faun" had forty-four columns. Hence it received the Greek name of *peristyle*, which otherwise was given to a third colonnaded court, if there was one. The name atrium was confined to the court of the front house, though this also might be inclosed by columns. The peristyle of the *cavaedium* was

THE HOUSE AND ITS FURNITURE; THE VILLA AND THE GARDEN.

surrounded by family-rooms, of which some served as chambers, one or more as dining-rooms, while one of larger dimensions and more handsome appointments was the *exedra*, or *salon*, where the lady of the house received her visitors. The slaves of both sexes who were not lodged in the front of the house, slept in the extreme rear, where were the kitchen and larders, or in the second storey, if the house were two-storeyed. The Roman house, though in the narrow streets of Rome it had to be built to a great height, really needed no upper storey; and in fact such a construction was objectionable, as it lessened the light of the court and the rooms below. All the apartments of the first rank were on the ground floor; whatever was above these was a makeshift or an inconvenient necessity. For this reason the upper storey extended no further over the house than was absolutely unavoidable; and its rooms received their light from windows opening on the street. When space permitted, in the rear of the house there was a small garden, often with a colonnade. The central space of the atrium and the cavaedium had also something of the effect of a garden, having a sunken basin or plot of greensward surrounded by flowers and shrubbery, and adorned with a fountain whose plashing waters cooled the air.

Such was the design of the complete Roman house, cool and airy in the interior, but with its apartments rather imperfectly lighted, as the openings were small, and on the ground-floor looked only into the atrium and cavaedium; but the glowing southern sky made this scarcely a defect. The windows themselves were of rather a primitive kind. Glazed windows were known; but how far they were in general use is a question that has not yet been satisfactorily answered.

Notwithstanding this imperfect and unsatisfactory lighting, all parts of the house were adorned. In Greece, the decoration of private interiors was rather a late fashion; but once begun, a real decorative art was developed which the Romans adopted. From slight and un-



POMPEIAN WALL-DECORATION.

pretentious beginnings, decorative painting in the early years of the Empire became a luxurious and brilliant art, which seems to scorn all laws, and regardless of truth and even of possibility, produces fancy-pieces, fantastic architecture, and the like, with exhaustless invention, to adorn the walls of the houses. Hundreds of specimens of this art have been brought to light in Herculaneum and Pompeii; and as it was here, so it was in the houses and palaces of Rome and in the provincial cities that had adopted the Graeco-Roman civilization. The practical calculating architect, working by rule and square, might view these caprices with disfavour; but as they were but airy creations and the play of fancy, they lay outside the domain of his criticism. Indeed it was only their sportiveness, the graceful invention, the pleasing combinations of lines

and tints, that justified their existence.

But this fantastic architecture, with its wonderful balconies and porches, its tapestries of fruit and flowers, and garlanded columns, and maidens hiding or peeping behind doors and pillars, was not the universal style of decoration; the designs are usually simpler and more rational. The artist generally divided the wall vertically into three parts: a narrow dado, a wide field above this, and the whole crowned with a deep frieze, the colours usually brightening as they



HOVERING FIGURE FROM A POMPEIAN WALL-DECORATION.

ascended: the dado, for example, being black, the field red, and the frieze white; though the reverse of this sometimes occurs, the painters following their fancy or their whim with no definite rule. Each division had its own decoration, the frieze being the most richly adorned. Even the dado had plants, flowers or garlands, birds, animals, architecture, or little scenes; and the divisions above were far more elaborately ornamented. The principal field in its turn often has a triple division, either in the ornaments alone, or in the colour, the central part having a different tint from the sides. These fields have pretty bright borders, and in the midst figures floating as it were in the air, genii, children, dancing-girls, Bacchantes, or groups in energetic action, like those wild Mainads on the back of the tamed and bound centaur,—all so lightly and airily sketched and tinted, that they seem void of all weight, and not to need the support of the earth. Instead of these we sometimes see little pictures, still-life, little landscapes with mountains, water and woods, villas and towns, genre-pieces, mythological and historical subjects, such as had been in use in Greek painting for centuries.



STREET-SCENE IN POMPEII.

Above this graceful painting, the colouring of which was pleasing, but bold and effective, and not afraid even of a black ground, was a light ceiling, covered also with gay painting. Over a white, yellowish, or light-blue ground was laid a design consisting of a reticulated system of coloured lines, variously combined, inclosing or supporting festoons and garlands of flowers, birds of bright hues, graceful animals, girls, children, or genii.

The floor was always solid and substantial, built up of small pieces of stone, forming geometrical or other simple designs, but not unfrequently rising to figures, once a view quite through the house, and saw the fountain of the atrium, the ornamented walls, the painted colonnades of the cavaedium, with the grass and flowers in the centre, and not unfrequently statues of marble or of bronze between the columns, for the art-loving Roman nobles could not dispense with the noblest of all ornaments.

In the palaces of Rome, indeed, decoration was on a more splendid scale. Here to the art of architect and painter was super-added the costliness of the materials. Monoliths of yellow, green, red or black marble, which were brought over the sea from various provinces, wherever his hand touched, turned to gold; and for a similar reason Nero's palace was called the Golden House.

To such a style of decoration all the appointments and furniture had to correspond; not so much, it is true, in their multitude and variety, as in the material and art. It is remarkable how simple was the furniture of a Roman house compared with that of a modern mansion: but each piece was far more costly and artistic. Yet it may be that in reality it was



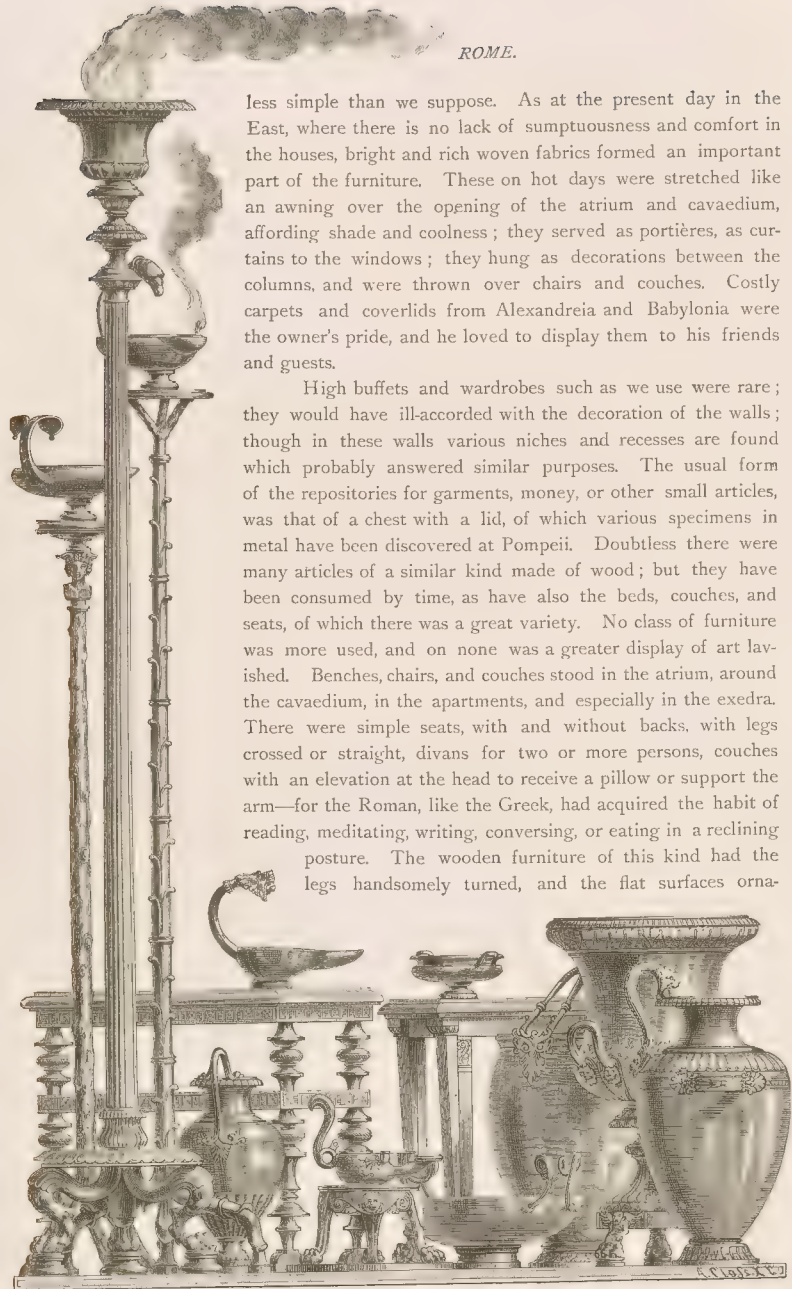
DESIGN FROM A ROMAN CEILING.



FLOOR-MOSAIC.

genre-pieces, and even to historical pictures on a really noble scale, like the mosaic of Alexander and Darius found at Pompeii (see p. 38).

Thus all the interior had received ornament and pleasing colour, and the eye of the visitor was gratified so soon as he set foot in the atrium. If the curtains of the tablinum chanced to be open, he had at once a view quite through the house, and saw the fountain of the atrium, the ornamented walls, the painted colonnades of the cavaedium, with the grass and flowers in the centre, and not unfrequently statues of marble or of bronze between the columns, for the art-loving Roman nobles could not dispense with the noblest of all ornaments. In the palaces of Rome, indeed, decoration was on a more splendid scale. Here to the art of architect and painter was super-added the costliness of the materials. Monoliths of yellow, green, red or black marble, which were brought over the sea from various provinces, wherever his hand touched, turned to gold; and for a similar reason Nero's palace was called the Golden House.



DOMESTIC UTENSILS.

less simple than we suppose. As at the present day in the East, where there is no lack of sumptuousness and comfort in the houses, bright and rich woven fabrics formed an important part of the furniture. These on hot days were stretched like an awning over the opening of the atrium and cavaedium, affording shade and coolness; they served as portières, as curtains to the windows; they hung as decorations between the columns, and were thrown over chairs and couches. Costly carpets and coverlids from Alexandria and Babylonia were the owner's pride, and he loved to display them to his friends and guests.

High buffets and wardrobes such as we use were rare; they would have ill-accorded with the decoration of the walls; though in these walls various niches and recesses are found which probably answered similar purposes. The usual form of the repositories for garments, money, or other small articles, was that of a chest with a lid, of which various specimens in metal have been discovered at Pompeii. Doubtless there were many articles of a similar kind made of wood; but they have been consumed by time, as have also the beds, couches, and seats, of which there was a great variety. No class of furniture was more used, and on none was a greater display of art lavished. Benches, chairs, and couches stood in the atrium, around the cavaedium, in the apartments, and especially in the exedra. There were simple seats, with and without backs, with legs crossed or straight, divans for two or more persons, couches with an elevation at the head to receive a pillow or support the arm—for the Roman, like the Greek, had acquired the habit of reading, meditating, writing, conversing, or eating in a reclining posture. The wooden furniture of this kind had the legs handsomely turned, and the flat surfaces orna-



SCENERY NEAR BAIAT AT CAPE MISENUM.

View from the Bay.

mented with inlaid work. Not unfrequently they were made of bronze, in highly ornamental designs, richly adorned with inlaying, often in silver. To these, in imperial times, were added cushions and pillows of silk, embroidered with colours or gold, and even with feathers, and stuffed with the softest down.

Next to the chairs and couches, in point of use and importance, stood the tables. These were used for many purposes, and were of various kinds, large and small, of marble, wood, and bronze, affording opportunities not only for the display of art, but for the caprices of fashion. To the latter we must refer the extravagant passion for tables of the citrus-wood, a species of thuja, which grew of the requisite size and beauty upon the Atlas alone. Transverse sections of the stem, made just above the roots, presented a beautiful pattern of waved and curling lines and spots, which was so highly admired that extravagant prices were paid for fine specimens—as much as \$60,000 being given for a single table of four feet in diameter. Much art was lavished upon this class of furniture, as well as upon the tables of marble, whose supports were covered with bas-reliefs, and on those of bronze and silver resting on a tripod usually representing the legs and feet of animals, boldly and richly designed, and finished with the chisel.

As with the Greeks, the arrangements for lighting were at once rich and beautiful in design and at least to our eyes—very imperfect in service. The Romans never advanced beyond the simple bowl-formed lamp filled with oil, having a wick which lay in a projecting nozzle. The wick could not be enlarged beyond a certain point, or it smoked; so to increase the light they had either to use several lamps, or to give the single lamp several wicks; and some of these were made with a circle of wicks, giving, when lighted, a ring of light. These lamps were often of very elegant form and richly ornamented, not only those of bronze and silver, but even those of terra-cotta.

The candelabra again were favourite subjects for artistic treatment. As it was unpleasant to have the lights under the eye, these served to raise it to various heights for various purposes, either springing like a shaft directly from the floor, or made to stand on a table, and sometimes supporting the lamp on a flat disk, or suspending it by chains. The artist's fancy allowed itself full play in their designs and decoration; figures were introduced supporting the disk; trees, from whose branches the lamps were hung, or slender fluted columns four or five feet high, rising from a broad tripod which gave them a firm base, and crowned with a graceful capital, on which the lamp was placed. Many of these articles, some of very beautiful designs, have been found in Herculaneum and Pompeii.

So was it with all the other furniture and utensils of the house, even those of the kitchen. It seems to have been the Greek nature and Roman art is only a continuation of that of Greece—that whatever the hand touched it ennobled, whether by added ornament or the contours of the form. This applies to pots, pans, and kettles hardly less than to the salvers or dishes in which the viands were served, or the bowls and beakers from which the wine was quaffed. The Roman had not the gift of artistic invention, but he knew how to prize the creations of Greek genius and the work of the artist's hand. He became a dilettante and collector, and many houses were real museums of old and new art-treasures, vessels and utensils of costly metal or precious stone, of glass, or of the mysterious murrha, or the highly-prized Corinthian bronze.

As was the Roman town-house, so was also, in all essential points, the villa; though of course the latter, covering a wider space of ground, could modify its plan accordingly. For the wealthy and noble Romans of the capital or the provinces, a retreat to the country or the

sea-side was the necessary complement of city life, and in it they found balm for many woes and solace for many cares which beset them in a life full of fierce action and contest as well as of luxury and splendour. But we cannot doubt that they also had a keen enjoyment of nature; for although nature in her wilder forms, in the storm, the rocky desolation of the mountains, the glaciers, the dark rifts and gorges, gave them only the impression of terror, yet they had a perfect sense of her calmer beauties, the forest, the blooming valley, a wide and varied landscape, a rippling brook, a smiling shore, gentle hills and their pure, transparent air. *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis* is the sigh which continually arises from the Roman heart; and this yearning for peace, for quiet, rest for body and for soul, drove him from the exciting and exhausting noise and tumult of the streets and the contests and turmoils of business or of politics. The bliss of leaving all business behind, escaping from cares and labours, worries and bores, drew him out into the quiet of the country at all seasons, even in winter.

But if we look at it historically, there is another reason for this delight in a country life. The Roman at the outset was a farmer: his hand first guided the plough, and only to protect the plough did he draw the sword. So he always passed a part of the year upon his farm. When he had grown too rich and proud to toil with his own hands, at least he oversaw with his own eyes the cultivation and management of his estate. The villa, therefore, was at first no pleasure-house or luxurious retreat, but simply a farm-house; a large rectangular building inclosing one or more courts; in front the dwelling of the master, or of his bailiff, the *villicus*, then the great kitchen and dining-room, the common servants' hall of all the slaves and workmen, and in the rear of this the stables, barns, and other farm-buildings. And this form the Roman farm-house preserved, after the luxurious villa had arisen by its side.

The villa, which even in the latter days of the Republic had been raised by Lucullus to such a pitch of size and magnificence as to excite general astonishment and admiration, was built altogether for enjoyment, leisure, and recreation. Some preferred the sea-side for its refreshing breezes, others the pure air of the hills; another the coolness and shade of the woods, a fourth the sunny and smiling plain; but whoever was able—and of these there were a multitude—had several villas to meet every desire. In this way Italy was filled with country seats; on the sea-coast near Rome at Ostia and Antium; southward, especially about the Bay of Naples, at Baiae, Puteoli and Sorrentum; for winter in the soft warm air of the Gulf of Tarentum; for the hot season on the Alban and Sabine hills, at Tibur, on the slopes of the Apennines in Etruria, on the northern Italian lakes, at the foot of the Alps, and beyond the Alps as well as beyond the sea.

The nature of the ground, as well as the intentions and wishes of the owner, gave rise to a rich, varied, and even fantastical exterior design; in which respect the villa stood in marked contrast to the city-house. Here rooms were wanted from which the prospect could be enjoyed; and the house, instead of closing itself against the outer world, opened itself to it. For the summer were needed spacious cool apartments, for the winter sunny warmth; protection must be made against storm and rain; the sound of the waves, or the noise of a swarm of busy servants, must be excluded. Here, the sloping ground required a terraced construction; there walls and dykes were carried far out into the sea, with colonnades for promenading, and rooms or sheltered niches where one might rest pleasantly on soft cushions and hear the waves lapping against the walls and among the arches. This was one of the luxuries enjoyed by the younger Pliny in his sea-side villa at Ostium, of which he has left so pleasing a description. Constructions such as these gave to the outside of the villa great variety of form, and an ever-changing



ROMAN VILLA.

THE HOUSE AND ITS FURNITURE; THE VILLA AND THE GARDEN.

profile; colonnades, piazzas, and balconies, projections and recesses, deep windows, massive sub-structures, and even towers and belvederes rising high above the mass.

In the interior stood the hall, and the courts surrounded with columns. These courts or galleries were often arranged with a southern aspect for the winter. In those for summer use, the columns were covered with ivy, and festooned with vines, while running water flowed through marble channels, or sprang from jets and fountains surrounded with flowers. Running water plashed and rippled through the cool dining-room and the apartments for repose in the heat of the day. This abundance of water, which was conveyed from springs and brooks, was one of the most cherished luxuries; it was brought in pipes and channels through house and garden, it supplied the baths, hot, cold, or tepid, and leaped in jets, or poured in fountains wherever it could add a grace.

To the villa belonged a garden. The Romans had no great variety of flowers; the profusion of exotic plants which adorn modern gardens was unknown to them; and they were for the most part content with what Italy afforded, roses and violets, narcissuses, hyacinths, and lilies. But they took great delight in them, especially in roses and violets, the favourite flowers for wreaths; and used them all the year to adorn the house, the banquet, the altar and the tomb. The rose they loved passionately; they had not many varieties, but these were in daily demand; and if their own gardens and conservatories, and the famous rose-gardens of Praeneste, Paestum, and Malta, did not yield a sufficient abundance, they brought roses from Egypt. In the season when roses and violets were in bloom, the whole villa was filled with their fragrance.

Beside the flower-beds, upon terraces, slopes, or the level ground, were spaces of soft grassy sward, bordered by trimmed hedges of beech. The Romans had learned the art of giving to the beech, the yew, and the cypress, artificial forms by skilled trimming and training; and the visitor saw here globes and pyramids, there letters of the alphabet, or a whole name: or ships, or figures of animals, such as a bear biting a serpent: a vitiated taste harmonizing well with other monstrosities of the imperial time. But this false taste did not rule the garden; it was only a bit of sportiveness, a caprice, which their horticulture tolerated without growing itself fantastic.

From the buildings of the villa shaded walks ran into the garden, and alleys of the platanus traversed it in various directions, or inclosed open spaces which served for ball-playing and other out-door exercises. Vines stretched from tree to tree; thick masses of ivy mantled the walls and covered the trunks of the trees which spread their green arms above. Here and there were copses of plane and laurel, or sheltered nooks in the dense myrtles, adorned with the statue of a nymph or goddess, and furnished with a couch of marble, where the master was wont to rest, reading or meditating, or lulled by murmuring brook or plashing fountain into slumber and oblivion of all disquiet. If he wished to move about, he extended his limbs on the soft cushions of the *lectica*, or litter, and was borne by slaves appointed to that duty, through shady alleys or along sunny ways.

Entertainment and amusement were also provided for. There were *lapinaria*, or warrens, in which rabbits, hares, and other game were reared; aviaries, large spaces inclosed with nets, in which were various species of native and foreign birds; *piscinae* or fish-ponds, where the prized *muraena*, or lamprey, and other fish were bred; while at villas on the sea-side, as at Naples, there were ponds for sea-fish also.

All these things, combined with walls and columns of marble, and statues of marble and bronze, were common adornments of the villas of Roman nobles; but what were they in comparison with the sumptuousness and splendour in which the emperors found gratification for

ROME.

their pride, and displayed their grandeur and magnificence? To the present day, when we walk among the vast piles of ruins marking the site of Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, we are struck with amazement.

Hadrian, tired of empire, tired of endless travel, sick in body, weary of soul, yearned at last for a life of peace. As Tiberius had found his Capreae, so Hadrian found the refuge he sought at Tibur. But an emperor of Rome, the lord of the world, could not condemn himself to inactivity; he must create life and activity in the silence of the forests and the hills; and he set about it in that grandiose style which characterized the race. He had preserves with whole herds of deer; excavated a pond, or rather a lake, in which mimic sea-fights were



ROMAN GARDEN SCENE.

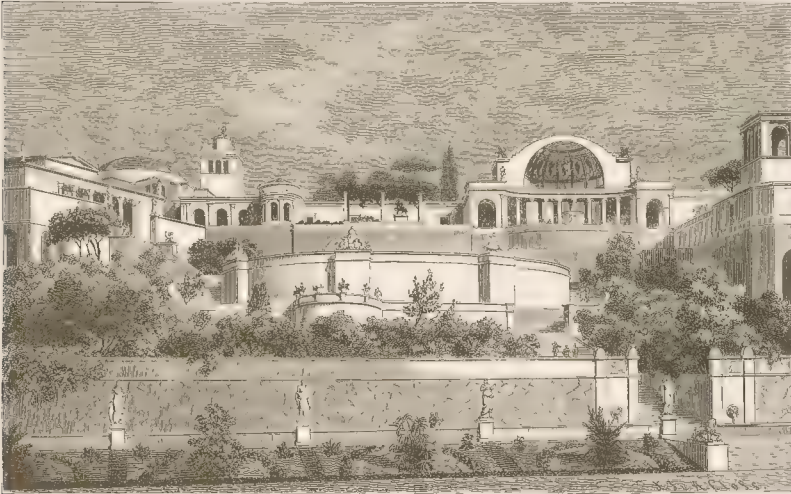
exhibited. But Hadrian was also an enthusiastic lover of art, had seen whatever of noblest and fairest the world had to show, and their memories lived ever in his soul, especially the memories of his beloved Athens, which he had himself adorned with noble buildings. These memories he wished to see and enjoy in their realities, when he lay sick in his palace-portico, or was borne about in his litter. So he had the master-pieces of Greek sculpture copied in marble and bronze, and placed them in his palace and gardens. To what extent this was done, all our great museums bear witness, which count among their choicest possessions the treasures disinterred from Hadrian's villa. But he copied not only the works of the sculptors, he erected again in the gardens of his villa the buildings that he loved, the Prytaneion, the Stoa Poikile, the Lyceum and the Academy of Athens, in which he might continue to philosophize with his friends. He was even initiated into the mysteries of the Egyptian priest-



HADRIAN'S VILLA AT TIVOLI

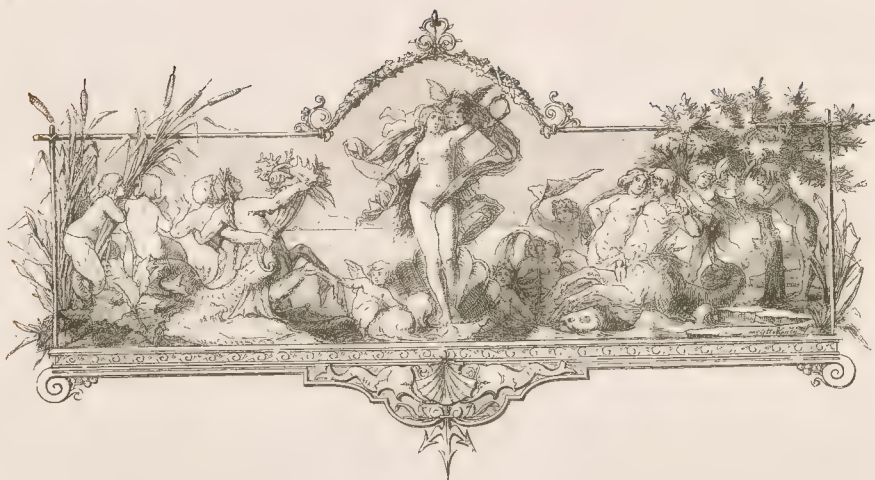
THE HOUSE AND ITS FURNITURE; THE VILLA AND THE GARDEN.

hood: of Egypt, where he had lost his beloved and beautiful Antinoos, who had given his life for him, he ever preserved a sweet, sad memory. So he built an Egyptian temple and adorned it with hundreds of statues in the Egyptian style. Indeed, in these gardens he placed copies of every style, and reminiscences of all that he had seen.



FROM HADRIAN'S VILLA AT TIBUR.

A mighty task, and a strange solace for a great, lordly, world-weary spirit, sick in body, and around whom the shadows of the tomb were fast closing in. Neither the Greek nor the Egyptian gods, whom he revered here, nor his own godhead, to which he erected altars, could accord him a long possession of this imperial resting-place.



3.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ORNAMENT.



INSHIP between the Romans and the Greeks is shown not only by their speech but by their costume. The same character is in both ; even the articles of apparel are the same, varied only by the taste and history of the two peoples. The garb of the Roman also is laid on, not drawn on ; and an amplitude of rich folds is its distinguishing beauty. In its artistic character, therefore, it is a plastic costume like the Greek ; not pictorial, as that of the later middle ages and the Renaissance. As with the Greeks, the dress consisted of two principal garments ; the one, the *toga* of the men and *palla* of the women, corresponds to the Greek himation, as the *tunica* does to the chiton. The most ancient costume of the Romans resembled that of the Greeks more nearly than did that worn in the best days of the Republic ; while, in imperial times, when Greek and Roman culture was united, the dress of the two peoples is almost or quite identical. When the Byzantine empire was founded, dividing the empire between the east and west, the dress also separated into the Byzantine and the Latin styles, which thenceforth went their several ways.

The toga, the Roman national dress, was first a mantle of moderate size, like the hima-

DRESS AND PERSONAL ORNAMENT.

tion. But as with all their victories and conquests the Roman pride grew, when the *civis Romanus* saw the world at his feet, then the toga, the distinctive garb of the Roman citizen, took wider dimensions and a statelier form. It was made ampler in mass, richer in fold, more artistic in its adjustment, and more imposing in its whole appearance. But when Roman citizenship was given to the whole world, and the importance of both the empire and the citizen began to decline, the toga became a festive array instead of a national costume, and, while its use was lessened, its dimensions were curtailed.

The style of wearing the toga remained essentially the same through the thousand years of Roman history. It consisted originally of a long oblong piece of cloth, the end of



ROMANS DRESSED IN THE TOGA

which was cast over the left shoulder, falling as low as the feet, while the other was drawn over the back, either above or below the right arm, and thrown back again over the left shoulder. Thus the whole person was enveloped, while the right arm was either covered or left free, at pleasure. This simple fashion, however, was too plain for the ostentation of later times. A piece of stuff, about sixteen feet long, and nearly semicircular, was then folded longitudinally, leaving one half longer than the other. This having been pressed into artistic folds by a servant overnight, by the aid of small pieces of wood, was put on as above described, and then the lower part, which fell from the left shoulder, was drawn somewhat out, and the *sinus* or pouch thus made was laid over that part (*umbo*) which passed from right to left across the breast. This sinus answered the purposes of a pocket. The whole arrangement presented an exceedingly rich mass of sweeping folds, especially over the breast; and gave to the whole

figure a dignified appearance far more imposing than that of the Greek in his simple himation, as may easily be seen by comparison of the statues.

The toga in this form was a robe of state, in significance as well as in appearance. Heavy, artistic, massive, carefully arranged, it necessitated deliberation and dignity in every movement. It was therefore no dress for the house, and was only worn publicly when the Roman wished to appear as a Roman and a citizen. When he returned home from the senate or the forum, he laid the toga aside. In the imperial time it was a part of the respect paid to the sovereign, that whoever approached him, whether to an audience, or as an invited guest, came wearing the toga. In the theatre and the circus, when the emperor took his place, there was a "dress circle;" and all men of rank, who had, or wished to be thought to have, the entrée of the court, appeared here in the toga. In like manner the man of rank was honoured by his clients, who waited on him in the morning, each clad in the toga, were it only a cast-off garment of his own, which his bounty had bestowed. On all occasions where a modern gentleman



ROMAN SHOES AND SANDALS.

thinks it incumbent on him to appear in full-dress, the Roman of the imperial time wore the toga.

In the course of time various lighter garments of different names were introduced, which took the place of the toga on other occasions than those mentioned above. Among these was the *paenula*, a mantle with a hole to thrust the head through, which served as a protection against dust and rain; the *lacerna*, which was fastened with a brooch upon the shoulder, and the *sagum*, a short military cloak resembling the Greek chlamys, but shorter. The process of time brought many forms and many names into use, which appeared and disappeared, while the true Roman garb remained essentially the same throughout.

The second Roman garment was the *tunica*, the house-dress, as we may call it, in contradistinction to the toga. In the earliest historic times we find this tunic in the form of a shirt, which was drawn over the head and bound with a girdle. Originally this was open on the right side, like the chiton, and without sleeves; later, sleeves were added, reaching to the elbow, and then to the wrist. In cold weather two or more tunics were worn; and this in all weather was an ordinary precaution of the aged or infirm; Augustus in his old age wore three or four. The tunic also was adorned with the badge of rank; a broad purple stripe down the front marking the senatorial order, and two narrow stripes the equestrian.

At home the tunic alone was worn; but when invited abroad the guest often put on a dress of ceremony lighter than the toga, called the *synthesis*, a garment of elegant form, the exact shape of which has not come down to us. On such occasions handsome sandals were worn, fastened with straps over the foot, which were removed on going to table, and resumed

after the meal. Sandals of a more substantial sort were used on journeys; and soldiers on a march wore them studded with stout hobnails. But beside these the Romans had also real shoes (*calceus*), which were the proper wear with the toga; and these were of various colours, white, green, yellow, red, or black. There were also boots reaching to the knee, but these were not considered a Roman dress. In the times of the Republic the legs were sometimes covered with bands or swathings. Breeches were the garb of northern barbarians; of the Gauls, or, at least, a portion of them, and of the Dacians. Roman generals and officers that had been long in their country followed their example; but it was not allowed to wear these *braccae* in Rome. Only in the last days of the empire, when Rome itself had grown un-Roman, did this barbaric costume become common.

In the earliest times the Romans wore their hair and beard moderately long; but during the whole time of Rome's greatness, down to the reign of Hadrian, they shaved the beard, and cut the hair close. Romans of rank had a barber and hair-dresser among their slaves; and those who were not so provided went to one of the numerous barber-shops. Of these there were plenty in all quarters of the city, and, as everywhere, they were the centres of all the gossip of the town, the marts and exchanges of news, and therefore frequented by many persons to chat and hear the news of the day. After Hadrian's time beards came into fashion, as we may see from the busts of the emperors; but young dandies had, long before this, and even in Cicero's day, worn a neat little beard, and curled their hair with curling-tongs so artistically that "they would rather have seen the state in revolution than their elegant coiffure disturbed." They also wore wigs when their hair was scanty, dyed their locks when their natural hue was uncomely, and removed superfluous hairs with depilatories or plucked them out with tweezers. In later luxurious times, fops were well versed in all the arts of the toilette, were fragrant with perfumes, and studied graceful movements of all the limbs, like so many dancers. There were some who in the hot season found their usual seal-rings too burdensome, and exchanged them for light summer-rings. The Roman ladies, of course, were at home in all the arts of personal adornment, and the luxuries of an over-refined life.

The Roman matron wore, like the men, the tunic and mantle; but the form, and in part, the names of these garments, were different. The female costume comprised two tunics, one worn above the other, the under one shorter and reaching just below the knee, while the upper tunic, usually called *stola*, fell in long, ample folds to the feet, and might be drawn up under the girdle, and fall in a pouch above it. Like the Greek chiton, and put on in a similar manner, the *stola* was open on the right side, and fastened with a brooch at the shoulder. At least, this seems to have been the normal style, though fashion and the course of time introduced many variations. Thus, we see the *stola* with half or whole sleeves; again, at the lower hem we find a border of a different colour, and sometimes embroidered, which was called *instita*; and a similar border, but narrower, also embroidered or decorated with gold, at the neck.

When a Roman lady went abroad, she threw over the tunic or *stola* a garment corresponding to the men's toga, and which was sometimes so called, though the usual term is *palla*. This *palla* was in form and in the mode of wearing similar to the toga; that is, one end fell in front from the left shoulder, while the other, passing behind the back and over the right arm, was thrown back again over the left shoulder. Many variations occur, however; the *palla* is brought over the head like a veil, or trails upon the ground, or is girt with a belt, like the *stola*, according to the taste and fancy of the wearer, or the prevailing mode.

The most usual material of Roman dress, like that of the Greeks, was wool, the fabric

being coarser or finer, lighter or heavier, according to the wealth and rank of the wearer and the time of the year. Italy furnished a good part of the finest wool, though some was brought from or by way of Miletos. Linen was worn mostly for home-dress; cotton was known through intercourse with the East, but seems never to have come into general use. Silk, on the other hand, in imperial times, was much admired and worn by the ladies, though it always remained an article of luxury or ostentation. There were silk-factories in Rome, in which the silk was carded from the cocoons and worked up, and silk-mercens, to whose stores the ladies resorted to select and purchase stuffs. At first goods were used only half of silk, the

warp being of linen or wool, and men wore this kind alone until the reign of Elagabalus—who for the first time wore a robe entirely of silk. Women, however, had long been adorning themselves with this highly-prized fabric, especially with silken stolae. As silk was very costly, a pound of it being worth a pound of gold, the textures were woven extremely thin, and even so gauzy as to be transparent, as Seneca tells us: "We see," he says, "silken garments, if indeed they can be called garments which afford neither protection to the body nor concealment to modesty." Of this nature were those fabrics



ROMAN MATRON.



ROMAN MATRON.

from the island Kos, so highly celebrated for their fineness and transparency, though it is by no means certain that these were of silk.

From the earliest times the whole female dress was white, like the masculine toga. In its purity, in its ability to give full expression to beauty of form, and to fall into rich and noble folds, it well suited the Roman matron, with her calm and proud carriage, and air of nobility and dignity. But as luxury increased, and manners grew more loose, the female dress began to show colour and to receive figured designs, and in imperial times this was the prevailing fashion. It could not be otherwise after silk had come into use. The extraordinary aptitude of that material to take rich and splendid dyes must have produced a love of colour even if it had been wanting before. To the garments of plain colour, yellow, sky-blue, violet-blue, green, etc., such as we see on the frescoes of Pompeii, were added borders of gold or coloured embroidery or regular patterns produced by stamping, or the whole stuff was embroidered in gold thread.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ORNAMENT.

Costliest of all were those dyed with the precious Tyrian purple, for there were various purples, as different in their prices as in their hues, from a pale violet-blue to the deepest amethyst. By law, none but magistrates could wear the Tyrian purple, and the emperor alone the purple toga; but where the means and the desire are both present, sumptuary laws have never been found effective. Though the purple toga remained the distinction of the emperor, whoever chose and could afford it decked himself in purple.

Thus, so far as the materials were concerned, the Roman lady had everything requisite for a perfect and most elegant dress; but her toilette was never thought complete without a careful and ornamental coiffure. A fine suit of hair artistically dressed was considered a chief ornament of female beauty, and it was esteemed so highly that Apuleius tells us that a lady,



COIFFURES OF ROMAN LADIES.

no matter how splendidly attired in gold, jewels, or costly apparel, was not considered handsome or well-dressed unless equal care had been bestowed upon her coiffure.

In early times the hair was worn in a simple and natural fashion. Parted from the middle of the forehead, the masses of hair were carried back from the temples over the ears, and wound in a knot at the neck or on the crown, in the Greek style. This fashion, though with many artistic variations, long remained in vogue. Another, nearly allied to this, consisted in braiding the two divided masses, when the braids were used to form the knot, and, if long enough, were wound again round the head like a diadem. To these arrangements the Roman matron of early republican times added a veil, not to cover the face, but as a feminine ornament; it was attached to the knot of hair, and fell back over the neck and shoulders. At a later day, when the arrangement of the hair was more artistic, and the wearer wished to display instead of concealing it, the veil went out of use and was only worn by priestesses and brides, except at certain festivals, when it had a traditional or symbolic significance.

But simple coiffures like these were too plain for the Roman ladies of the later days of the Republic, and far more for those of the Empire. One change consisted in lengthening the

ROME.

braids, and so winding them about the head as to resemble a crown; frequently with a mass above the brow so artistically arranged as to have the form of a diadem, and with this a diadem of gold—the Greek *sphendone*—was often worn, as is seen on the head of the Juno Ludovisi. Others again discarded these old styles altogether, threw the hair into waves by the use of crimping-irons, and let it fall in rippling masses from the parting on either side; or curled it into ringlets which clustered about the temples and neck; or ruffled it intentionally into a tangled mass all over the head, and then confined it with golden bands or anadems.

All these styles, of which some are represented in the illustration, are seen in pictures, statues, and busts, especially of the empresses. Hair-dressing had become an art; and the slave-girls entrusted with this important duty were instructed in it by professional teachers. The lady varied the fashion of her hair according to her taste, or the style of her beauty, knowing well that a high coiffure was not suited to a long, oval face, nor a low one to a round face, beside other mysteries such as Ovid, an expert in all such matters, has revealed in his *Art of Love*. But the general style was to a great extent governed by the prevailing mode, which was usually set by the empress, and changed with her changing fancy. Thence came the custom that the portrait busts of ladies were made so as to allow the removal of the whole *chevelure*, and its re-



JUNO LUDOVISI.

placement by another to suit the fashion. Some of these busts have come down to our times.

For a long time auburn or golden hair was most esteemed; and this taste dates back to the times when the wars with Germanic nations brought many captive Germans of both sexes to Rome. Hair of a natural blonde was rare among the Roman ladies; but they used a kind of caustic pomade or soap, in which ashes were an ingredient, to give their dark tresses the admired hue. The application was not agreeable, but they submitted to it with exemplary patience. The hair was first washed in lye, then rubbed with this dressing, and exposed to the rays of the sun, precisely as did the Venetian dames in the six-

teenth century. Even this was not always effectual, and then recourse was had to a peruke, the blonde hair for which was either obtained from female captives or imported; a lively traffic being driven in this commodity on the shores of the Rhine and at Rome. Merchants, both Romans and Jews—the latter of whom were numerous in the cities on the Rhine—travelled through the Teutonic tribes, buying up blonde and red hair.

The peruke, however, was the Roman lady's last resource, when the defects of nature could be remedied in no other way. But she had other arts at command when the effects of a too luxurious life began to tell upon her beauty, or advancing age stole charm after charm away. She resisted to the last: concealed her wrinkles, helped her figure with judicious padding, and replaced lost teeth by artificial ones of ivory, fastened with gold. Her dressing-case, which was often of considerable dimensions, contained pomades and perfumes of

DRESS AND PERSONAL ORNAMENT.

various kinds, and a whole armament of boxes, phials, knives, tweezers, brushes, bodkins and scrapers.

Naturally, the toilette of a Roman lady was a long and troublesome affair, frequently tedious and painful to both mistress and maids; and especially when she had reached the years—and they came early—when all these arts were requisite. Well was it that no lover was present at these mysteries; and indeed the sage Ovid warns the sex to let none of their cosmetic arts and devices be seen:



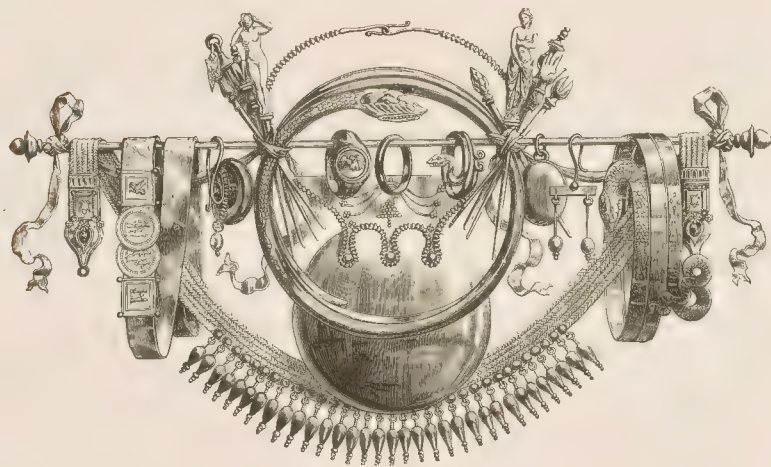
TOILETTE OF A ROMAN LADY OF RANK.

Always beware that from your lover's eyes
You keep concealed these toilette mysteries;
Though art assists, yet must that art be hid,
Lest where it would invite it should forbid;
For many things, when done, afford delight,
Which yet, while doing, may offend the sight.

The Roman lady needed for her toilette a whole bevy of maids, of whom each was a specialist, and had her peculiar skill and duty. In the evening, when she betook herself to repose, a cake of fine dough, kneaded with asses' milk, was spread over her face, to render the skin elastic and soft, and preserve its delicate tint. Asses' milk had a high reputation for its cosmetic powers. The empress Poppaea, Nero's consort, was the first to bring it into vogue; and when she travelled, she was accompanied by a drove of she-asses, that she might always

ROME.

have a supply of fresh milk. In the morning this plaster of dough was dry ; and it was then slowly and carefully washed off with fresh milk. Then began the work of the *kosmetai*, as these dressing-maids were called ; for in Rome it was the fashion to give Greek names to everything of this kind, as we moderns use French. The eyebrows were drawn with the pencil in fine arches, the lashes darkened, white and red laid upon the cheeks, the nails trimmed and polished, the hair oiled, perfumed, and the coiffure built up ; then shoes of soft bright leather, or sandals with straps studded with pearls, were put on the feet, and finally the perfumed garments folded about the person. While all this was going on, a mirror was held before the lady's face that she might criticise the work, as it proceeded. These mirrors, plates of polished metal, usually silver, richly ornamented in engraving or relief, and sometimes set with jewels, were the most elegant of all the apparatus of the toilette. Sometimes an admirer,



FEMALE ORNAMENTS.

who, unmindful of Ovid's warning, had obtained permission to be present at these mysteries, was allowed the privilege of holding the mirror.

Last of all came the ornaments, those excepted which were attached during the arrangement of the hair, such as frontlets, diadems, pins, or strings of pearls. The Roman lady was fond of jewelry and trinkets ; perhaps an inheritance from the Etruscans, whose women went beyond all others in the way in which, from head to foot, and from shoulder to finger-tips, they were loaded, bestuck, and bedangled with golden pins, chains, rings, brooches and earrings. So also the Roman ladies decked their hair with ornaments, such as circlets, pearls and long pins, to hold it in place ; nets of gold thread to confine it, and ribbons to tie it up. Like the Etruscan, she wore long pendant ear-rings, of pearls or wrought gold, which suited well with the erect and haughty poise of the head on its slender neck. She wore also necklaces, some fitting closely to the neck, and others hanging down upon the breast, perhaps ornamented with a *bullæ* or an amulet. On her arms and wrists she wore armlets and bracelets, hoops of gold closing with an ornamental clasp, or wrought in the likeness of serpents. Her

DRESS AND PERSONAL ORNAMENT.

fingers were loaded with rings of gold; while the men, as a rule—the fops being of course an exception—only wore a seal-ring on the fourth finger of the left hand.

This love of ornament the Greek artists gratified with works of exquisite skill and taste, such as have never since been surpassed, and which the Romans knew well how to appreciate. The Greeks knew how to adapt the design of an ornament to its use, so that it really adorned the wearer, enhancing her charms instead of detracting from them. They had the art of covering the surface of the gold with minute granules, so as to give it a velvety effect; and of working it in delicate threads of filigree, of a fineness which no modern jeweller can match; they adorned it with coloured enamels, or with tiny figures of exquisite workmanship; and, in a word, were inexhaustible in graceful inventions and designs. In the later days of the Republic, and under the first centuries of the Empire, they were famous for their delicate and artistic lapidary-work, in both cameo and intaglio. These engraved gems were mostly set in rings, which the Romans greatly and justly admired.

The Roman lady prized not only the artistic beauty, but also the material value of her jewelry, and did not shrink from displaying a parure that cost millions. The empress Lollia Paulina, consort of Caligula, appeared at her betrothal ceremony decked in jewelry valued at 40,000,000 sesterces, or \$1,548,000; an prized, and were used singly, or in clusters of two or three, as pendants to the ear-rings. Caesar paid for a single pearl, which he presented to a lady, the sum of 6,000,000 sesterces, or about \$232,000. At these prices a Roman dame might wear the value of a considerable landed estate in her ears, and twine a handsome fortune around her neck, and if the whim took her, as it sometimes did, might crush the whole at a blow, or imitate Cleopatra, who dissolved a priceless pearl and drank it off.

So now, the beauty, having been dressed, *coiffée*, perfumed, and decked with jewels, might cast a final glance of approval at her mirror; the great work of art was accomplished, and she might allow herself to be seen, and receive the homage of an admiring world. Perhaps she is about to visit some female friend of high rank, to excite her envy by the superior elegance of her dress and magnificence of her jewelry, or perhaps to knit the threads of some political intrigue or dark conspiracy, for which the ladies of imperial Rome seem to have had a consuming passion. Or it may be she is going to visit the temple of Serapis, a deity particularly fashionable with Roman ladies of rank; or to celebrate at some aristocratic house the



TOILETTE ARTICLES.

inheritance from her grandfather, who in his proconsulate in Asia had not neglected his opportunities. It consisted of emeralds and pearls, which at that time bore the highest price. The diamond was less esteemed; the art of cutting it so as to bring out its matchless brilliancy being then unknown. Pearls were brought in large quantities to Rome after the conquest of the East; the products of the Indian ocean coming to Rome by way of Alexandria. The borders of dresses were trimmed with pearls; and strings of pearls were wound around the neck and in the hair. Large and fine pearls were highly

ROME.

mysteries of the Bona Dea, about the goings-on at which the satirists are so extremely caustic; possibly because the male sex was rigidly excluded. Perhaps, again, she is simply going to take the air in one of the delightful shady porticoes, whose long colonnades were surrounded with beautiful gardens and parks, bringing something of the charm and refreshment of the villa into the very heart of the city; and where she is certain to meet the beauty and fashion of Rome, and to receive the homage of friends and admirers. Whatever her destination, her delicate feet must never press the hard basalt pavement of the streets. The curtained litter stood ready; eight stalwart Cappadocians, the race of slaves usually selected for this service, were waiting to bear their mistress wherever she might order. Taking a fan of feathers in her hand, she moved to her conveyance with the calm and noble gait of a matron, and the stately carriage of a great lady, and reclining on soft cushions was borne away, leaving a waft of perfume in the air as she passed along.





THE ALDOBRANDINI WEDDING.

4.

THE ROMAN WOMEN.



MONOGAMY is the great social law which the Greeks and Romans gave to Christianity and Christianity has given to the modern world. Unlike the East, Greece as well as Rome knew but one lawful wife; and the Roman municipal law made monogamy imperative. During the thousand years of Rome's history, the women passed through all stages, from the strictest purity of morals to license, and to the most abandoned dissoluteness; husbands and wives changed their partners as they changed their garments, but from first to last the law restricting the single wife to the single husband remained unchanged.

The Roman maiden was considered of nubile years at the age of twelve; and if seventeen found her still unmarried, she was thought to have delayed too long. As a rule it was the parents of both parties who arranged the match; and when this was once settled, the girl might dedicate her toys and dolls to the goddesses that had watched over her childhood.

As the wedding drew near, great preparations went on in the bride's house, and ample supplies of clothing, jewelry, and furniture were provided. On the wedding-day itself the houses of both bride and groom were gaily adorned; bright hangings were suspended in the atrium, the walls decked with green boughs, the columns wreathed with garlands, and the cases

containing the effigies of ancestors opened, that they also might share in the general festivity. The bride's mother dressed and adorned her, or at least personally superintended her toilette; her hair was arranged according to the ancient custom, the white toga folded about her, and a scarlet veil fastened to her hair. When the kinsfolk and friends had assembled, bride and groom were led before the domestic altar by the *pronuba*, who joined their hands. They then offered a sacrifice, and after this followed the wedding banquet, which was usually given in the bride's house. This over, the bride was conducted to the house of the bridegroom. In early times this took place in the evening; whence the custom continued of escorting the bridal procession with lighted torches, as it moved to the music of flutes and the singing of gay and jocose songs, and accompanied by a crowd of spectators. On reaching her future home, the bride anointed the door-posts of the entrance with perfumed oil, wound woollen fillets about them, and was then lifted up and borne over the threshold, lest she should stumble upon it, which would have been a bad omen. On the next day a sacrifice offered by the newly wedded pair at the domestic altar closed the ceremonies; and this was the first act which the young wife performed in her character of mistress of the house.

This was the most usual form of wedding, but it was not the only one, nor indeed was any such ceremony necessary. Many couples, who wished to avoid all these formalities, were married quietly in the country. In ancient times the wedding of a pair of patrician rank—rated, in the latter years of the republic divorce became a matter of interest, of politics, or of caprice. Cicero divorced his wife Terentia, because he wanted a new marriage-portion; Cato the younger, in other respects a man of even austere morals, repudiated his wife to oblige a friend, and took her back again on the friend's death. In the earlier years of the empire, wives and indeed husbands as well were wedded and divorced just as fancy or interest dictated. A lady is mentioned who in five years had eight husbands. Another in her life had as many as twenty-three; and her twenty-third husband had in her his twenty-first wife. The marriage of priests alone, which was solemnized with all the antique ceremonial, remained at all times indissoluble; an evidence that even in days of low morality a feeling of the sanctity of the marriage tie still survived.

The ancient strict marriage-rite, such as the patricians observed, placed the wife's person and property absolutely in the power of her husband. According to the old law, the head of the family had unlimited power over all pertaining to it, even the power of life and death; and this also included the wife. But this authority was relaxed in the course of time, and the wife received rights of her own; and first her property, and then her person, were emancipated



ROMAN MAIDEN.

and only those of equal rank had the proper *connubium*—was conducted with a religious ceremonial, at which ten witnesses were present to attest the recital by the pair of certain prescribed words, and to subscribe the contract; but in the course of time these strict formulas were relaxed. At last marriage became merely a matter of custom; and the fact that the woman had lived for a year with the man as his wife, was sufficient to legalize it. But marriages so lightly made were as lightly severed. While it was the boast of old Rome that for five hundred years of her history no wedded pair had separ-



PUPPET-PLAYER IN POMPEII.

THE ROMAN WOMEN.

from his control. She received the right to inherit, and to manage her own property; the husband had only a claim upon her marriage-portion, and that not unconditionally. It is true that a law was passed to check this increasing independence, and to bring, as Cato said, the women once more under masculine rule, as they had been in former times; but it was without effect; female independence and influence had gone too far. Indeed, before this, all the sumptuary laws to restrict female luxury in apparel and jewelry had proved ineffective. And those who in the first centuries of the republic recognized the right of their husbands even over their lives, in the last century were styled "mistresses of the masters of the world."

The property of women was usually managed by agents, often young lawyers, who carried on the lawsuits they were pretty sure to have. It was not an uncommon case that the husband, engaged in political or other ambitious schemes, found himself straitened for money, and borrowed from his wife, who charged him high interest, and otherwise drove him with rather a tight rein; nor could he interfere even though the handsome agent—a well-known personage as early as Cicero's time—became not only the friend, but the intimate of his wife.*

In this way the women gradually attained emancipation; but from life, and appear openly when and where she would, upon the street, in the circus and theatre, at entertainments and festivals. The only restrictions upon her freedom were those imposed by modesty, good-breeding, and care for her reputation.

In the old times the Roman women had a high reputation for virtue and modesty, and the traditions go to prove that it was not undeserved. The perfect conception of purity, the tenderest feeling for female honour, is seen in the tragic stories of Lucretia and Virginia, the one perishing by her own hand, the other slain by her own father, to avoid a life of dishonour. The vestal virgin, the highest priestess, is placed on high as a symbol, as a warden of unspotted virginal purity; and a violation of this brought death without reprieve. Wherever the women



MATRON.

the first they had enjoyed consideration, respect and influence. The fact that legally the woman was dependent upon the man had in no wise interfered with the respect in which she was held. Even in the most ancient times the *matrona*, the honoured mother (as the *patronus* was one who was honoured as a father) the *domina*, as she was addressed, was respected and honoured as the lady of the house, the mistress of the slaves and retainers, the directress of all household affairs. Her position was very different from that of the Athenian woman of historic times; she was free to come and go at pleasure, might take part in her husband's

*"Res uxoris agit." Res nullas crispulus iste :
Res non uxoris, res agit iste tuas.

MARTIAL, V. 61. [Tr.]

of the ancient time appear in history, it is for the good of the state, for the deliverance of their native land; as the Sabine women who make peace between their fathers and husbands, or the wife and mother of Coriolanus, who save Rome, though at fatal cost to their husband and son. Such were the Roman women of the ancient time; they had the virtues of mothers, of wives, of mistresses of the family; they kept the household well ruled and in order, and controlled and directed hundreds of slaves; but the state and its welfare was more to them than the house and the family. Even in the time when old customs and virtues began to decline, when, after the fall of Carthage, the Romans saw nowhere their match in all the world, and the storm of civil war was gathering, even then, Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, the daughter of the great Scipio Africanus, was a bright example of the antique Roman virtue. With the noblest motives, for the welfare of the lower class, and, as he believed, for the advantage of the whole state, her elder son had entered on that career which ended with the revolt in which he fell. To avenge his brother's death, the younger followed a similar course, more boldly and with wider views, and at the same time more dangerously. Cornelia was proud of her sons, as well she might be; but neither her maternal pride nor the refined Greek education she had received in her father's house prevented her from thinking and feeling as a Roman matron. "Is there to be no end of the madness in our house?" she wrote to her son. "What is the limit to be? Have we not cause enough for shame that we have plunged the state into confusion? To me too nothing seems nobler and fairer than to take vengeance on an enemy when this can be done without bringing ruin on our own country. But when this cannot be, then far better that our enemies triumph, than that our country suffer."

And later times also, even the first century of the empire, when morality and honour had sunk to the lowest ebb, and men of the highest rank and of the noblest names, names illustrious for centuries, lay in abject servitude and with the most disgusting adulation at the feet of imperial madmen—even these times knew noble, brave, and virtuous women, worthy of the ancient Roman name. A Julia, Caesar's sister and Pompey's wife, remained, while she lived, a bond of reconciliation and peace between the two great rivals for the lordship of the world. So Octavia, the fair and noble sister of Augustus, to whose lot it had fallen to be the wife of Antony, strove to preserve peace and friendship between her brother and her husband. Cast off by Antony, she lived thenceforth only for her children, even after Augustus had attained supreme power; and especially for the young Marcellus, the son of her first marriage, whom Augustus designed for his successor. And when he was cut off prematurely—a victim, we may well believe, of that evil spirit that desolated the house of Augustus, the empress Livia—she refused all consolation; plunged in grief, she abandoned the court and passed her days in darkness and solitude, as if the very sight and hearing of men were hateful to her, until, after twelve years of a sorrow to which time had brought no alleviation, death came to her relief. Otherwise was it with the elder Agrippina, the grand-daughter of Augustus and wife of Germanicus. She too owed all her misfortunes to Livia and Tiberius, the death of her husband and of the best of her children. But nothing could break the proud spirit of this true Roman woman. Haughty, and standing far above the vices of her race and time, with unflinching courage she rebuked Tiberius to his face. He banished her, cast her into prison, and at last starved her to death, and the senate extolled the mildness and humanity that had not caused her to be strangled, and her body exposed like that of the lowest criminal.

There were other women again who could not forget the Republic, that free Rome whose memories had soon died out among the more servile men. It lived in the memory of

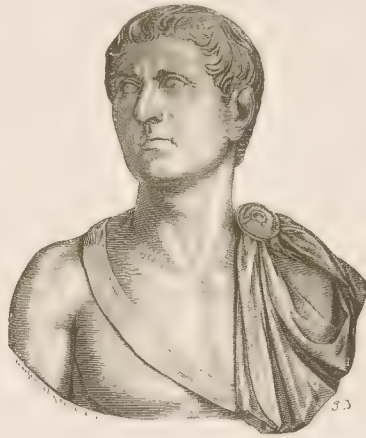
THE ROMAN WOMEN.

Junia, sister of Marcus Brutus, the slayer of Caesar. When she died, aged and wealthy, sixty-three years after the battle of Philippi, she remembered in her will all Romans of eminence, the emperor alone she passed over in silence. History preserves the memory of the two Arrias, the elder and the younger, wives of Caecina Paetus and Thræsea Pactus, and of Fannia, the wife of Helvidius Priscus, who aroused the republican spirit of their husbands to resist the tyrants Claudius and Nero. They were constant to them in exile and in death; indeed, the elder Arria set an example of courage to her hesitating husband, plunging the dagger first into her own breast, and handing it to him with the words: "Pactus, it is not painful."

But at the same time the great majority of the women were drifting with the general current. Selfishness had taken the place of patriotism, and shameful passion, ambition,



AGRIPPINA.



GERMANICUS.

pleasure, even bloodthirstiness ruled the spirits of those women whose names appear in the later history. Love, pleasure, power, were the ruling passions of the Roman women in the last century of the Republic and the first of the empire; and ladies of the highest rank played the parts of hetairai or courtesans of the emancipated class. The republic had known the crime of poisoning a husband to make room for a son; but now secret murders in families were matters of common occurrence. The triumvirs had outraged nature in giving up their friends and kindred to slaughter in the proscriptions, and the unnatural blood-guiltiness avenged itself on them or on their children.

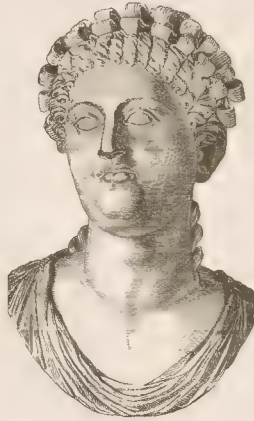
In all those political struggles and civil contests which preceded the empire, a host of women took active part, but their influence and activity were mostly kept in the background and behind the scenes. The reckless and dissolute Antony was the first to bring the sex publicly upon the stage of history. While he was yet Caesar's lieutenant, when despatched to Rome to carry the news of the battle of Pharsalia, he carried with him on his triumphant journey through Italy the beautiful Cytheris, a woman of the worst reputation and of extraordinary artfulness. He aspired to the name of a second Bacchus, and like his patron-

god he rode, wearing a crown, and accompanied by his mistress, in a chariot drawn by lions, and surrounded by a mad crowd of his boon-companions, through the cities and towns that received him with rejoicings and festivities. Thus he moved from Brundisium to Rome, and in this guise at the head of his crew of revellers he entered the astonished capital.

This escapade was but an expression of his scorn for the superannuated decencies of Rome; but a few years later, when tangled in the snares of Kleopatra, he staked the lordship of the world against his love. In Kleopatra the east and the west were united. The last queen of pure Greek lineage, the sovereign of that land of strange lore, the ancient Egypt, she had grown up a Greek in education and refinement, but endowed with all the serpentine fascination of the glowing Orient. Beautiful of form and feature, splendid and inexhaustible in voluptuous arts and devices, gracious and intelligent in conversation, she had but to speak and the rulers of the world lay at her feet. A fatal destiny seemed to drive them all to Egypt and to her. Pompey, hastening to her, fell by the assassin's dagger; Caesar, caught in her net in Alexandria, was fast nearing the same fate; Antony was drawn with irresistible might to this Circe and to his ruin; only Octavianus, the fourth among these lords of the world, a type of the cold, calculating nature of the west, was proof against her fascinations. Antony and Kleopatra marshalled the East against the West in the

decisive battle of Actium; one world met in the death-grapple with the other, and a woman decided the contest. Kleopatra fled, and Antony followed: "His heart was to her rudder tied by the strings." "Lands and whole kingdoms had they kissed away;" death was now all that stood at their command.

No second woman like Kleopatra appeared in history; but in the influence she exercised over the destinies of the world she had more than one successor. Augustus, polished and cold, escaped her snares, but another woman was not less fateful to him, to his house, and to Rome. He took from Claudius Nero his wife Livia, and married her, after he had divorced his own consort, Scribonia; and during his long reign she was a crafty traitress to him, and his match in cool calculation and subtle dissimulation. Full of ambition, she ruled the empire through the emperor, and the older he grew the more absolute was her influence over him. Solely bent on securing the succession for her own son by her first marriage, she removed from her path all the near kindred of Augustus, by poison, as the rumour ran, both then and afterwards, in the employment of which she was said to be expert. She drove the emperor to banish his daughter Julia, the wife of Tiberius, who, it is true, led a life little becoming an imperial princess. At the close the aged emperor stood alone and bowed with grief in his desolate house; all whom he loved had perished or were in misery, and he was forced to accept and acknowledge as his son and successor the man he hated, the dark and gloomy Tiberius, who loved no one and whom no one could love. The curse of the proscriptions had come home, and went on from emperor to emperor. Guilt brought forth guilt and ruin followed crime.



MESSALINA.

THE ROMAN WOMEN.

We shall not undertake to enumerate all the empresses, their crimes and their fates, but will only mention those who stood pre-eminent in wickedness.

Messalina, the wife of Claudius, and the type of that passion which mingles love and crime as if the two were inseparable. Ruling her stupid husband as if he were a child, she followed uncontrolled the bent of her inclinations, openly and in the streets, by night or by day, and with ladies of the highest rank and the noblest families as her companions. Men of all ranks were her lovers; high and low, sailors, actors, gladiators, and freedmen. She seems like one of those fair witch-women of legendary lore: whoever followed herself and her son Nero. "Let him kill me," she said, "provided he but reigns." And he did both. She wrought as Livia had done for Tiberius, only more openly and more passionately.

First she ruled Claudius, and Rome through him, and then through her young son, until, instigated by Poppaea Sabina, he rid himself of his mother and her inconvenient authority. He had a ship built for the purpose, and adorned with due magnificence, in which Agrippina was to take a pleasure-trip on the Gulf of Baiae. The sea was calm and smooth, but midway in the voyage, the ship, as had been pre- to pay the last rites to the matricide, save only his aged nurse.

Next in evil repute to Messalina was the younger Faustina, the wife of Marcus Aurelius. Posterity has reckoned up a heavy list of charges against her; she was guilty in her

The most licentious of all was lowly her is lost. Beautiful and horrible, with life and death in her hands, who dared to resist her? But whoever yielded to her allurements, or entered her embrace, his doom was sealed.

With Messalina it was fierce sensual love that drove her from crime to crime, and caught her at last in her own net; but with her successor, the younger Agrippina, the unworthy daughter of a noble mother, it was the love of rule alone that with equal force urged her on the road of crime and ruin.

She sought the empire for arranged, fell to pieces. But neither did the fall of the heavy masts crush her, as had been hoped, nor the waves drown her; she reached the shore in safety, and took refuge in a farmhouse. Her son, hearing of the failure of his ingenious device, sent men who murdered her in bed; nor did he even grant her decent burial. But when, only a few years later, his own career came to a bloody and miserable end, no pitying soul was found



THE YOUNG NERO.



FAUSTINA.

relations with Verus, and guilty of his death ; guilty of complicity with Avidius Cassius, who plotted against her husband ; and it has much to tell of her scandalous intrigues with mimes, fencers, sailors, and others of the very dregs of the populace. So far posterity, which sees in her only the mother of Commodus ; but her contemporaries bear a very different testimony. She was the companion of her husband in all his campaigns, and lived with him in the camp and in the field. He loved her tenderly as a faithful wife, the mother of ten children ; in itself a remarkable phenomenon in marriage-hating and sterile imperial Rome, where the law bestowed privileges and honours on the parents of even three children. When she died the emperor was plunged in grief, and the senate sympathized with his loss. Divine honours were decreed and a temple erected to her ; the city where she died received the name of Faustino-

polis ; in many places coins were struck bearing her effigy, with the attributes of a goddess ; a statue was set up at her customary place in the theatre, and it was made the law that betrothed couples should place offerings before another statue of her in the temple of Venus. These actions of the senate may have been only their usual servile flattery, but the love and respect of the emperor are an inexplicable enigma, if



JULIA DOMNA.

we are willing to believe that Faustina was such a woman as later writers have reported.

These empresses, as Roman women, ruled only by virtue of their influence over their imperial husbands ; but with Septimius Severus a race of Asiatic women came to the throne, who, as wives or mothers of the emperors, ruled, like the queens of the East, in their own persons. Beautiful, ambitious, passionate, full of craft

and resolution, they personally presided in the senate and controlled the destinies of the world. One of them even created a female senate, over which also she presided, thus ruling both halves of the human race at once. Severus had married Julia Domna, a Syrian, because it had been prophesied of her that she should ascend a throne. When she had reached this position, she surrounded herself with a court of scholars, philosophers, and artists. She was succeeded by her sister Julia Maesa, and the two daughters of the latter, Julia Soëmis and Julia Mamaea. Soëmis, the evil genius among them, at once priestess and courtesan, two callings not incompatible in Syria, was the mother of the monster Elagabalus, whom she initiated young into the Syrian priesthood. When Caracalla was murdered, she produced the young Elagabalus as his son, brought him from the temple, laid the purple upon his shoulders, presented him to the army, and in this way placed upon the imperial throne a half-grown corrupt priest, who was neither a soldier, nor an emperor's son, nor even a man. Under her sway Asiatic customs and morals, with Syrian priests, eunuchs, and courtesans, took possession of Rome ; the emperor married a vestal, and everything that had been held as



AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE THEATRE.

THE ROMAN WOMEN.

Roman and venerable was trampled under foot. Otherwise was it with Julia Mamaea. While not less ambitious than her sisters, she had learned the doctrines of Christianity from Origen, and amid all the corruptions of the court she preserved her son untainted; and when Sœmis perished under the indignation of the world, under Alexander Severus and Julia Mamaea happy days once more arose for the Roman empire. It was but a brief gleam of the sun through masses of gathering storm-cloud.

But leaving the great ladies who played their parts, better or worse, on the stage of history, let us take a look at those Roman women whose actions were confined within the more restricted sphere of private life. Here also we find love, passion, ambition, or at least vanity, the ruling motives of their conduct. From the time when the republic began to decline, poets and historians lost faith in female virtue.

Every woman may be won, Ovid tells us, if only rightly attempted. Yet we know that then, and under the first emperors, there were many exceptions, many true, noble, and constant wives; but still the instances we have cited of the lightness with which marriages

made the ladies of the imperial house spin and weave, and wear no garments but what their own hands had wrought. It was but another hypocrisy of that accomplished hypocrite.

For love-intrigues there were opportunities in plenty. The Roman women led a free life; they took part in all festivals and banquets; they appeared openly on the streets and promenades, the ladies of fashion in their litters; they were to be met in the porticoes, but above all in the circus and the theatre. Here they flocked in crowds, so passionate was their love for all spectacles, for the excitement of the combat, and also the personal interest in a favourite actor, dancer, or gladiator, for whom fierce partisanship arose; and if he was handsome or eminent for his skill, his love was sought by the proudest ladies of Rome. These games were a mere school of licentiousness, while the bloody combats of beasts or men hardened their hearts, and bred that cruelty with which they could not only command but witness the infliction of inhuman punishments on their slaves.



CARACALLA.

were contracted and dissolved, the fruitless efforts of legislation to counteract the increasing celibacy and childlessness, are indisputable proof of the growing licentiousness. Love-affairs and intrigue were the chief occupation of the Roman women of that time; and it sounds like irony when we hear the declaration of Augustus, that he

As thronging ants through their small portals pour,
Busied in heaping up their winter store;
As bees that swarm the meads in summer's prime,
Lured by the flowering herbs and scented thyme—

ROME.

—thus flocked the women to the theatre and the shows, those of the humbler class on foot, and those of rank or fashion in their litters, while the most distinguished of all rode in light vehicles. All appeared in their richest and most elegant toilettes, for they came to be seen as well as to see. In the circus they sat promiscuously among the men, but at the theatre in the upper rows of seats, where the critical eye might scan them at leisure, and rove through a galaxy of beauty :

Rome shows so many maidens, and so fair,
All the world's beauty seems collected there.

So there was no lack either of choice or of opportunity, and it was only necessary to make an advance. Ovid particularly recommends the theatre to the gallant, where the game is even too plentiful. "Take thy seat," he says in his *Art of Love*, "beside the fair one, as close to her as thou canst, for which the stretched cord [dividing the seats] gives thee an excuse ; then begin a familiar conversation, for which the play affords an easy opening ; applaud whenever she applauds ; take care that she is not incommoded by the knees



ROMAN PORTRAIT.

of those who sit behind her ; arrange her cushion, take up her mantle if it falls ; place the stool under her delicate feet, and fan her if she be too warm"—little attentions which are not altogether obsolete at the present day.

But not all Roman women were so easy a conquest. The more witty and intelligent preferred to have a whole court of adorers, who thronged about them, accompanied them on promenades or at watering-places such as Baiae, entertained them, and from whom now and then one was allowed to be present at the mysteries of the toilette. These were statesmen, popular leaders, men of letters, poets, soldiers old and young, men who had attained distinction or were on the road to it, mingled with crabbed philosophers, and curled and perfumed fops, who thus crowded to pay their court. Of course, to hold fast this throng of admirers, the lady must possess not only beauty but wit and education. But learned women were not greatly admired—a prejudice in which Rome was not singular then or since—and society even looked a little askance upon those ladies who were nothing if not critical, and were ready to discuss and pass judgment in all companies on the last poem or lecture, the newest actor or singer

Many of these ladies aspired to be poetesses, not without success, though their poems have not proved immortal, nor was there any Sappho among them, emulous though they were of her fame. But one of these ladies at least made a poet of Sapphic glow and passion, perhaps the solitary poet that Rome produced. For while the love which Horace and Tibullus felt for their too-easy fair ones never rose above the commonplace level, so also their poetry and that of the rest was but an elegant accomplishment of men of wit, taste, and refinement. But it was otherwise with Lesbia and Catullus. Lesbia, whose real name was Clodia, was a lady of high rank, of the renowned Claudian house, wife of the consul Metellus



SCENE FROM ROMAN LIFE.

THE ROMAN WOMEN.

Celer, and sister of that demagogue Clodius who abandoned his order and became a plebeian. A brilliant woman of Juno-like beauty, and with the large luminous eyes ascribed to that goddess, which gained her from both friends and foes the Homeric epithet *Boöpis*, she had at one time seen Cicero at her feet, who, brought into her company by his political associations with her husband, was so enchanted by her wit and her charms that he would have married her, if his high-spirited Terentia would have consented to a divorce, as she did years after. But at this time she held a tight rein over her eloquent and unsteady spouse, and forced him to break off an intimacy which afterwards turned to rancorous enmity. After Cicero, Valerius Catullus became a visitor at the house, then frequented by the most brilliant and most distinguished men of Rome, on account of the attractions of its mistress. At this time Catullus had written verses, like other men of taste and education, such as translations, paraphrases, or imitations of the Greek poets; but his passion for Lesbia awakened in him a true poetic genius; he found tones of the heart which were all his own; he found a language of passion unknown to the Roman poets, deep, true, and original, such as never had been uttered before. Now he might say:

Let us, Lesbia mine, live on and love on.
What though crabbed old gentlemen should grumble,
All their talk is not worth a single penny.
Suns may set, it is true, and rise again, love,
As for us, if but once our brief life setteth,
One long night evermore is left to sleep through.
Give me kisses, a thousand, then a hundred,
Yet a thousand, and then a second hundred,
Keep on adding a thousand, then a hundred;
Then, when many a thousand we have made up,
Out with all of these lest we should know it,
Or some churl of a fellow should begrudge us,
When he learns that there are such shoals of kisses.

But a true poet, who has tasted the joys of love, cannot hope to escape its pains. Lesbia was untrue to him. After the death of her husband she was drawn deeper into the vortex of political life, and in alliance with her reprobate brother, bestowed her favours on a succession of candidates. Catullus saw her degradation with pain:

O Caelius, think—our Lesbia, once thy pride,
Lesbia, that Lesbia whom Catullus prized
More than himself and all the world beside,
Now lavishes on profligates despised,
In the dark alley or the common lane,
The charms he loved, the love he sought to gain.

The proud Roman woman had hardly sunk so low as these verses imply, which express rather the indignant shame of the poet than the real facts; but he bore within him torturing memories of past happiness, and a wound that nothing could heal. Thus Catullus became the poet of love's sorrows, of the heart's anguish and despair; the first poet of the romantic tone and feeling, which thus for the first time appeared in the antique world.

In this case Lesbia was the giver and Catullus the receiver; but usually these brilliant and fascinating women owed all their intellectual attractions to the intercourse with intelligent and distinguished men. The young girl at her marriage had but little education and an unformed mind. She could read and write; with her mother or with tutors she had read the poets, and had diligently practised dancing and music. The dance had given her the proud

and noble carriage, the calm and graceful movements, and the stately walk which distinguished the Roman woman; and she had become sufficiently proficient in music to sing melodies of her own composition and accompany them on the harp. But other studies she had continued after marriage, especially Greek, which Romans of rank learned to write and speak like their own tongue; and she loved to use it, or to interlard her Latin speech with Greek words, much as fashionable ladies of our own time sprinkle their discourse with French.

If it then happened that the wife had a learned or highly-cultivated husband, whom she loved and honoured, she took a part in his studies and pursuits, and grew up by his side. To possess a wife thus capable of looking up to him, was the proud boast of the younger Pliny. "Every day," so he writes to her aunt, "she proves herself worthy of her father, worthy of her

grandfather, and worthy of you. She has a clear intelligence, charming manners, and a great tenderness for me, the sign of a virtuous character. She loves knowledge; and it is her eagerness to please me which has produced this taste in her. My works are continually in her hands; she reads them constantly and even learns them by

hear how the audience praise me. She sings my verses, and, instructed by love alone, accompanies her voice with the lyre. It is not mere youth and beauty," he adds, "that she loves in me, which fade day by day, but fame, which never perishes."

Under the empire the ladies for a while took a fancy to philosophy, which became the fashion when the philosopher Marcus Aurelius occupied the throne. As may be supposed, their philosophical studies were not very profound. The philosopher was one personage of the court which the lady of fashion loved to gather about her; but she often took him formally into her service as house-philosopher, with a regular salary, and sometimes a place at table. The philosopher could not live upon abstract ideas, and there were so many of the trade that competition was sharp; so he was glad to get a permanent situation with a great lady, even at the risk of an occasional conflict with her principles. These household sages took care to keep on good terms with the family cooks and bakers; and in their ostentatiously humble array, with threadbare cloak and long grey beard, the insignia of their profession, they made a singular and striking contrast to the elegant, exquisitely-dressed lady and her splendid surroundings. In this contrast the house-philosopher was a sort of moral conscience in that gorgeous Vanity



ROMAN MARRIED PAIR.

heart. You can not imagine her anxiety when I make a speech, nor her joy when I have ended; and she always has some one commissioned to hurry home and tell her what applause I received, and how the case was decided. If I deliver a public lecture, she contrives to get some place behind a curtain, where she can

THE ROMAN WOMEN.

Fair in which the Roman lady lived. While her toilette was in progress, he might give her lessons in philosophy, or a lecture on virtue and self-denial, which she probably interrupted to order him to read and answer for her a billet-doux, or an invitation to a rendezvous. At table, if he was allowed to come to it, he was assigned the lowest place, or was served with spoiled dishes and sour wine which the other guests refused. If the lady went abroad, it was his duty to be in attendance; if she travelled, he had a place among the servants, and took charge of



HOUSE PHILOSOPHER.

her lap-dog. But he lived in the atmosphere of a great lady, and a ray of sunlight thus brightened his barren existence.

Some of these ladies, however, studied philosophy in another spirit. The educated class had long lost all faith in the national religion, and in emptiness of heart and disquiet of conscience, many turned to philosophy for something to fill the void, and bring them hope or consolation. When this failed, they sought to strange faiths, especially those of the East, which had not only established themselves at Rome, but spread throughout the empire. Temples of Isis arose everywhere, and the Egyptian priests made innumerable proselytes. After the first century of the empire there was a revival of religious feeling, and a craving for some faith, especially among the women, whose credulous and enthusiastic nature always makes them the warmest proselytes of any new gospel, and the most devoted disciples of any new apostle. They were attracted toward the Asiatic religions by their asceticism, mysticism,

ROME.

and mystery, and, falling under the influence of corrupt priests and priestesses, were drawn into that abyss of depravity which lurked behind these cults.

But this craving for religion was a symptom of something good in itself. Other symptoms also appeared, signs that the time and the manners were on the brink of a great change. In the works of later writers we find lofty and pure conceptions of the marriage-tie, as the closest harmony of soul between the wife and the husband. "To love a wife while she lives," says one, "is happiness; to love her after death is a holy duty." Sensibility, tenderness, tender solicitude for family and friends, had never characterized the Roman. Cicero's letters show no trace of such feeling. But the letters of the younger Pliny have a trace of it; and those of Marcus Aurelius and his friend Fronto are so penetrated with it that at times they seem scarcely Roman. New emotions, new feelings, new love, are coming into existence, and men's souls are getting ready for Christianity.

In Christianity these blind cravings found full satisfaction—that Christianity which knit between high and low, rich and poor, slave and free, a single bond of love. We know but little certain of the relations of the Roman ladies to Christianity in the first two centuries of the empire, but we know at least that from the first the Christian apostles found their most zealous, most faithful, most devoted followers among the women. There is ground for thinking that Christianity numbered its friends among the imperial ladies of the Flavian house; and there is no doubt that while its influence spread, slowly and secretly, from the lower to the higher classes, so gradually it took possession of the female heart, and at last turned the Roman into the Christian woman.



RUINS OF THE COLOSSEUM.



THE IMPROVISATOR.



CATO AND PORCIA

5

DOMESTIC LIFE.



PPIUS CLAUDIUS CAECUS, a blind old man, ruled his house : four stalwart sons, five daughters, a vast family, a numerous clientage, stood ready to obey his orders ; his slaves feared him, his children honoured him, and he was beloved by all : the antique manners and patriarchal rule governed the household.

Such was the Roman family in the days of old. The head, the father of the family, was a king in his house, with the right of life and death over all belonging to him. This paternal authority was unlimited and unassailable while he lived ; neither age, nor blindness, nor even insanity, could impair it ; and history can point to instances enough where it was exercised in full force. The sons grew up in reverence of their father ; even marriage and the establishment of families of their own did not emancipate them from his authority. The daughters were

released from it by marriage, but they then came under the authority of the head of the husband's family. In the course of time the rigour of this rule was relaxed, or its exercise grew less frequent, but it was not abolished until the second century of the empire.

Thus the whole Roman house was controlled by a single will: wife, children, slaves, who together constituted the *familia*, were accustomed to unconditional obedience. But as the *paterfamilias* was often absent, the authority then devolved upon his wife, the *matrona*, usually a slave chosen for good character and steadiness, who was often his tutor also. As the knowledge of Greek was universal among Romans of the upper classes, a Greek was usually selected for this office, and was called, as in Greece, a pedagogue. At one time Greek became even more fashionable than the mother tongue, and even the girls had Greek *bonnes*.



WRITING IMPLEMENTS.

After the pedagogue came the schoolmaster. The schools were commonly private establishments, whose masters stood in no very good repute, as the calling was usually the last resort of those who had failed in every other. On the other hand, teachers of a higher order, the *literati* and rhetoricians, might attain great wealth and rise to high honours, especially if they had had the fortune to conduct the education of



SCHOOL SCENE.

princes of the imperial house. Persons of the better class did not care to send their children to the public schools, where the morals were far from good, the situation often unhealthy, and the building ill-ventilated, though not unfrequently the instruction, such as it was, was given on the roof, or even in the public street. The masters, despised and poorly paid, freedmen or provincials, were morose and brutal, and all discipline was enforced by the rod. Thus many parents preferred to have the teacher give his lessons at the house, while some, like Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Makedonia, kept a Greek tutor in the family. Augustus engaged for his grandchildren, at a fixed salary, the best teacher that Rome had, Verrius Flaccus; who only accepted the position under the condition that he should be allowed to retain all his pupils, with whom the imperial princes were taught in common. Indeed, the emperors generally were not negligent in this respect. Agrippina chose the celebrated Seneca as tutor for the young Nero; Domitian, Quintilian for his sister's grandchildren; and Antoninus Pius, the stoic Apollonius for the young Marcus Aurelius. This haughty scholar, however, refused to enter the imperial palace; the pupils

DOMESTIC LIFE.

must come to him ; and so Marcus Aurelius, the successor to the throne, went daily, like any other boy, to his master's house. At a later day Fronto became Marcus' teacher and friend.

Under these masters the boy learned the proper use and pronunciation of his mother-tongue ; he learned Greek, read the classic authors of both languages, the poets especially, much of whose works he learned by heart ; and practised elocution, an art of prime necessity for any one who proposed to enter the public service. Greek and Roman oratory was the only branch of learning for which the state ever provided instructors ; and this was done under the empire.

The *familia*, in the Roman sense of the word, included the slaves ; but they were far from being members of the family in the modern sense. Slaves were a necessity for the ancient state ; and without them, it could not possibly have existed. The prisoner of war is a slave, and the slave is the property of his master and may be sold. These are axioms in the polity of all

ancient states ; and in none were they carried out with more rigorous severity than among the Romans. The hardness, the inexorability of the Roman character nowhere shows itself more repulsively than in their relations to their slaves. The

sands of those wretches whom desperation had driven to the so-called servile war. If a slave was a witness, he was examined by torture : if a slave killed his master, all his fellow-slaves were put to death. Pollio, a favourite of Augustus, for a trifling fault, threw a slave into his fishpond to feed his lampreys. "So many slaves, so many foes," was a common saying ; and they were dealt with in this light.

But in time the severity of these relations was relaxed in many ways ; many a slave grew up with the children in the house and lived with them in a certain friendship ; others by their diligence and fidelity acquired the confidence of their masters, and were treated with consideration ; but a legal amelioration of their condition was first introduced by the emperor Hadrian, who restricted the use of torture, made the punishments less severe, even punished a matron for cruelty to her female slaves, and called in question the master's right to put his slave to death. At this time, at the love-feasts of the Christians, masters and slaves met on the footing of brethren ; and this may have had an influence in improving their condition.

In ancient times the Roman had but few slaves ; but the many wars, the increase of property, and the advancing taste for luxury rapidly augmented their numbers. Even in the latter years of the republic the nobles counted their slaves by thousands, who were divided into



ROMAN GIRLS.

master is a master in the most absolute sense of the word, with unlimited powers of life and death. If a slave ran away, he was regarded as a wild beast ; and when caught he was branded, crucified, or bound hand and foot and exposed to the birds of prey. Such a fate befell thou-

decuries under the command of decurions. Conquests brought in multitudes of slaves; the whole populations of conquered cities, such as Numantia and Carthage, were sold into slavery; and dealers brought long trains of slaves from the barbarian nations, who used to sell their prisoners to the Romans. Thus a slave-trade grew up throughout the whole empire, whose central point and exchange, as we may call it, was the island Delos. In Rome and in all considerable cities, especially those of the coast, arose slave-markets, in which the inferior slaves were publicly offered for inspection and sale, while those of a better class were only shown to wealthier purchasers.

The greater part of all these slaves were employed in agriculture or the mines; and thus the slaves fell into two great classes—the rural and the urban. But even the city-house of a wealthy Roman contained hundreds, a swarm kept in order by the scourge or other severities of discipline. In the house they had to attend to their duties in silence, for which purpose a special overseer, the *silentarius*, was appointed. Those, however, who had been born and bred in the house (*vernae*), were allowed somewhat more liberty, and their pertness and loquacity were proverbial. The work was divided among them, each being employed according to his skill or ability, the whole being under the charge of an overseer, either a slave or a freedman. For house-service there was the *ostiarius*, who in the character of porter was often chained to the door-post; the *atriensis*, who attended to the atrium; the *cubicularii*, who kept the chambers in order; the *cellarius*, who had charge of the store-rooms. The kitchen had its proper slaves; cooks, bakers, confectioners, carvers, and table-setters. Others there were for clothing, personal attention, and the toilette, of both master and mistress, tailors, seamstresses, bathers, hairdressers, *ornatrices*, *cosmetae*, *unctores*; and a host of others for whom modern language has no specific names. There were also workmen of all crafts among them, for whatever the family needed was made in the family; but for the family alone: the Roman slave did not work for his master's profit, as did the Greek. Others were messengers and errand-goers; while others again attended their master on journeys. Among them was the *nomenclator*, the master's walking memory, whose business it was to know all his friends and all persons of consequence in the whole city, and to whisper their names and rank in his ear when he met them. If the master had literary tastes, he had literary and learned slaves, who kept his library in order, copied books, wrote at his dictation, read to him, and made extracts for his learned labours. Those who practised medicine publicly, for the most part Greeks or Greek freedmen, were not in the best repute at Rome: there were far more charlatans, quacks, and impostors than honest men among them; so the Romans of the upper classes preferred to have an intelligent slave taught the healing art.

Such relations, whether the slave was physician, secretary, or assistant in literary work, naturally presuppose much confidence on the master's part; and such slaves sooner or later received their freedom. But even as freedmen they remained in a certain connexion with their former owner and his family. For the most part they passed into the rank of clients.

The client did not belong to the family, yet to a certain extent he belonged to the house, and was a regular recipient of its bounty. In the oldest times the clients were dependants of the patrician, the *patronus*, bound to render him certain services in a legal relation from which they could not be freed without his consent. They showed him respect, did him various services, advanced him money, and in return enjoyed his protection. Later, when the clients became the plebeian class, this legal relation was changed and relaxed; the client remained, but his relations to his patron became purely personal. The Roman noble loved to display his greatness in a large retinue, a court that attended him when he went abroad and

DOMESTIC LIFE.

paid visits, that surrounded him in the court of justice or in the forum, and applauded when he delivered an oration. For such services as these Rome afforded an abundance of idle freemen who had nothing, would not work, and yet wanted to live; so they attached themselves to some wealthy noble, or to several at once, which paid better, and received from him sufficient for their daily needs in the *sportula* or dole. The *sportula* consisted sometimes in money, at others in food, which the clients consumed in the patron's house. Clothes also, the cast-off garments of the household, were often given, especially the toga, for only in this garb of respect could they wait upon their patron.

The service of the clients seems light, yet their meagre dole was hardly earned. Every morning they must present themselves at the patron's house, and if they failed they lost their



SWARM OF CLIENTS

right to the *sportula*, which was distributed after the day's service was over. Neither rain, snow, storm, nor distance was accepted as an excuse for absence. Each tried to get the start of the others, be the first to salute the patron, and have time to wait upon another. Martial, the poet, who was himself a client, and held out for thirty years, gave it up at last and returned home for the sake of once again being able to get sufficient sleep. For any morning-sleep was out of the question for a client. In the earliest gray of morning, and even while it was still dark night, they might be seen flocking through the streets of Rome. Arrived at the patron's house, those who could thronged in the open vestibule, while the rest stood in the street, until the slaves had put the house in order, and it pleased the porter to open the door and let them pass into the atrium. Here they waited, exposed to the impertinence of the servants, until it suited their patron to appear, or until he sent them away. Usually, however, the patron appeared, received their salutations and homage, and addressed to one or the other a gracious word or two, the nomenclator keeping by his side to whisper in his ear the names, which he did not take the trouble to remember. If he were in a particularly gracious mood, he might

ROME.

ask one of the better sort to sup with him, in which case his place was the lowest at table, if, indeed, he was not set at a separate board and served with coarser fare.

When this noisy swarm had departed, then came the proper friends and real petitioners, or those who had political or business affairs to discuss. If the patron was a man of literary tastes, he retired to his study, stretched himself upon his couch, read, meditated, and dictated to his secretary. But the great noble rarely had leisure for this in Rome; and to pursue these studies he had to fly to one of his loved villas. He also had the duties of politeness and of his rank to perform, and had to salute a superior—the emperor alone being excepted from this; and this was some consolation for the clients in their humiliating existence. So says Martial, poet and client :



STUDY.

Maximus, yes, I own it with shame, I am hunting a dinner ;
But thou huntest elsewhere : both of us here are alike.
If I come early to pay my respects, I find thou hast staid
On a like errand elsewhere : here too we both are alike.
If I attend thee, walking before my magnificent patron,
Thou dost to others the same : here we again are alike.

The court was in all respects the type of a Roman noble's house. Indeed, under Augustus it was nothing more, and, like other houses, was thronged with friends and clients. The emperor received the salutations of senators, knights, or his chosen friends, and invited them to sup; the empress received the senators' wives. The domestic services were performed by freedmen, as in other houses by slaves. But in time these duties became court offices, then imperial offices, which were filled by men of rank; and the emperor's house became first a royal court, then an Asiatic court, with all the pomp and ceremony of majesty; in which state, of course, it differed widely from a private house.

When the morning greetings were over, the Roman had still many things to attend to. Friendship and social duties demanded numerous small attentions, presence at family festivals,



BANQUET.

DOMESTIC LIFE.

or at courts of justice, attendance at lectures, and visits. A man of position and influence had to be everywhere ; and the hours were soon spent in busy trifles. But few were so happy as Horace, content in his modest simplicity :

Illustrious senator, more happy far
I live than you and hosts of others are.
I walk alone, by mine own fancy fed,
Inquire the price of potherbs and of bread,
The Circus cross to see its tricks and fun,
The Forum too at times, near set of sun.
With other fools there do I stand and gape
Round fortune-tellers' stalls, then home escape
To a plain meal of pancakes, pulse, and peas :
Three young boy-slaves attend on me with these.

And in this way it was that he might, as he tells us, sleep as late in the morning as he pleased, haunted by no feeling that it was his duty to be up to pay his morning calls. But most found their only refreshing rest after the mid-day meal, which was preceded by bodily exercises and a bath.

It was to a great extent due to these customs that the chief meal of the Romans took place in the evening, and was the last meal of the day. In early morning, before going out, it was the custom to break the fast on bread and salt, eaten with fruit, cheese, or olives ; about noon followed the luncheon, or *prandium* ; and then, about midway between noon and sunset, though often much later, the *coena*, which might be prolonged far into the night. The *prandium* was sometimes more substantial, and comprised fish, eggs, shell-fish, and wine ; but the proper art of the kitchen was reserved for the *coena*. This consisted usually of a variety of entrées provocative of appetite, followed by two very substantial courses and a dessert.

But the Romans were not at first thus luxurious. In the early time a kind of porridge of pulse formed their principal food, and this, with the addition of vegetables and leguminous fruits, especially beans, remained the diet of the lower classes at all times. Down to the year 174 B. C., there were neither cooks nor bakers in the city who regularly followed their trades. The Asiatic wars first made the Romans acquainted with the luxuries of the table, and furnished them with cooks, bakers, and confectioners in the persons of slaves who were sold at high prices. Thenceforth gastronomy became a study, and the ordering and preparation of a dinner, a science and an art. The Republic had already had a Lucullus, whose name ever after was associated with sumptuous repasts ; but the gastronomic art, for which he was so renowned, did not attain its perfection and glory until imperial times. Then, when Rome had extended her sway over the whole world, the expansion of trade and intercourse brought the dainties of all lands to the capital ; the farthest East and the farthest West, the delicacies of India, the spices of Arabia, the fish and shell-fish of the Atlantic, the game of Gaul and Germany, and the dates of the oases, all met in the Roman kitchen. The emperor Vitellius, perhaps the most enormous eater that the empire ever knew, sent out his legions to hunt game where it was found in the highest perfection, and employed his fleets in furnishing his table with fresh fish. So many arms were set in motion by a single stomach ! At this time it was that all the breeding and fattening establishments were erected. Remarkably large or fine fish were bought by wealthy gourmands at fabulous prices, as many anecdotes tell us ; but probably more for the sake of notoriety than anything else.

Fish, oysters, snails, mussels and other shell-fish, of which the Roman cuisine boasted a far greater variety than our own, were supplied from all parts of the empire ; and the epicures

knew well where the choicest were to be found, and the most delicate modes of preparing them. The mullet or sea-barbel, a fish highly esteemed, was often brought alive to the table, that the guests might have visible proof of its freshness. When the favourite Italian oysters began to pall on the appetite, recourse was had to the "natives" of Britain. The villa furnished fowls, which were fattened in the dark, and ducks and geese fed with figs and dates; the *volarium* or aviary, fieldfares, snipe, quails, pheasants, and smaller birds. Storks, cranes, flamingos, and especially peacocks, were also often served at Roman tables. Vitellius, and Apicius—that gourmand who devoured his whole large fortune, and when reduced to his last million killed himself because life was no longer worth having—prepared a dish of the tongues of flamingos, and Elagabalus of their brains. Among quadrupeds the pig was in highest favour, and more than fifty ways were known of dressing its flesh. Wild boars were often served whole; and epicures could tell by the flavour from what region the animal came. Sausages of various kinds were a favourite dish, both hot and cold; and hucksters on the streets served

them to customers from small portable stoves. The best sausages, as well as the best hams, came from Gaul. There was an abundant supply of salads and vegetables; asparagus was cultivated to a great size; many kinds of cabbage were grown, with turnips, artichokes, pumpkins and cucumbers, peas and beans, mushrooms and truffles, and many plants and herbs used for flavouring.



VITELLIUS.

Nor did the Roman table lack rare and choice wines, kept in jars or bottles of baked clay. They were prized in proportion to their age; and each jar bore a label showing in whose consulship the wine had been made. Campania furnished the best Italian wines, of which the Caecuban held the first rank, the Falernian the next, while the third place was claimed by several vintages; but whoever was forced to drink the Vatican was an object of general commiseration. Greek wines, too, had their place in the Roman cellars. As, with increasing luxury, the customs of the table were more and more fashioned after those of the Greeks, though incomparably more luxurious, so, like the Greek, the Roman rarely drank wine undiluted. He mingled it with water and cooled it with snow; while for the winter he had a warm drink, the *calda*, made of wine, water, honey and spice, for preparing which there was a special vessel, the *caldarium*, with a small furnace for charcoal in the interior, on the principle of the Russian samovar. Still another beverage, called *mulsum*, which was drunk at breakfast, was prepared of must, honey, and spices.

The Roman table was thus liberally provided, and though many dishes seem to us of

questionable taste, still the achievements of Romans in the culinary art do them high credit. Even in Caesar's time, at a pontifical banquet attended by six priests and as many priestesses, the following was the *menu*:—First course (intended merely as a whet to appetite): conger eels, oysters, two kinds of mussels, thrushes on asparagus, fat fowls, a ragout of oysters and other shell-fish, with black and white marrons. Second course: a variety of shell-fish and other marine animals, beccaficos, haunches of venison, a wild boar, a pasty of beccaficos and other birds. Third, and principal course: the udders of swine, boar's head, fricassee of fish, fricassee of sow's udder, ducks of various kinds, hares, roast fowls with pastry and Picentine bread. This by no means meagre bill of fare was far surpassed in later times, especially in the pastry and confectionery; and this part of the repast was distinguished by the originality and artistic forms of its devices, in which the confectioner rivalled the statuary.

At table the Roman took thought for the pleasure of the eye as well as for the gratification of the palate. Costly vessels of gold, silver, glass, or precious stones stood upon the side-tables; there were candelabra and lamps, of silver or bronze, wrought in the most graceful designs; tables and couches of rare woods, inlaid with ivory or metal, and spread with rich drapery; soft cushions of feathers, coverlids of silk or embroidery, try, game, and fruit. It was also the largest of all the rooms; and when it became the fashion for men of wealth and rank to give great entertainments, the dining-room became a large hall surrounded with columns.



GLASSWARE.

Oriental tapestries - all bore witness to the wealth and taste of the host. The dining-room was chosen on account of its situation, so as to be warm or cool as the season required. It was richly adorned with mosaics and paintings, preference being given to such as related to the pleasures of the table, such as still-life pieces representing fish, poul-

In its usual and simpler form the dining-room bore the name *triclinium*, a word which originally signified the dining-table with its benches or couches. At the time when these customs were fixed, the table had a quadrangular form, with couches for the guests on three sides, while the fourth side was left free for the slaves to serve the various dishes which were brought in on trays. Each of these couches held three persons, the middle being the place of honour. Thus nine persons filled one triclinium, and if there were more guests, more triclinia were set. This arrangement was a good one, as with nine persons a general and lively conversation is possible; while with a large company at table each guest talks only with his immediate neighbours.

The guest reclined obliquely on the couch, with a cushion under his left arm, and the women, at least in imperial times, did the same. Though the Romans gradually adopted the Greek customs at meals, they never imitated them in excluding the women from the table, but, on the contrary, regarded their presence as adding life and charm to the entertainment. At every banquet the guests wreathed their heads, and even their breasts, with garlands of

ROME.



SILVER-WARE OF THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS, DISCOVERED AT MILDENHILL.

ivy, roses, and violets; for which purpose roses were for sale in the market all the year round.

Intelligent men entertained themselves at table with serious discourse, and rejected the disagreeable addition of noisy music. But as not all had the gift of agreeable conversation—although the Roman, like the Greek, had a fluent wit—it grew to be a general custom to introduce various arts for the entertainment of the guests. The meal was accompanied with music; declaimers and readers sought to please both ear and mind; lithe brown An-



STILL-LIFE.
Fresco from Herculaneum.

In all this entertainment there was something laboured and artificial, as if to make up for a natural deficiency of conversational power. This was most of all the case when the dishes were removed and the drinking began—the symposium, which was conducted in the Greek fashion, under the direction of a *rex* or leader of the carousal.

The Romans of the empire, however, were always aiming at something unusual or extraordinary, and at their entertainments they sometimes indulged in the most singular caprices. Nero, for example, had a dining-room constructed in his Golden House, which had a vaulted

dalusian girls danced their voluptuous dances; jugglers and rope-dancers displayed their dexterity, buffoons cracked jokes and played pranks, actors gave scenes of tragedy or comedy, and pantomimists often produced their licentious pieces, especially if no ladies were present.



ROMANS AT TABLE.

ceiling, turning day and night on its axis ; and at a banquet which Otho, Nero's favourite and boon companion, gave the emperor, tubes of gold and silver suddenly protruded from various parts of the hall, from which perfumed waters were sprinkled over the company. Nero probably took a hint from this, when he had the ceiling of his vaulted hall opened to shower flowers upon his guests.

It is probably one of Nero's feasts which Petronius describes, in his account of the banquet of Trimalchio. This preposterous parvenu is represented as entertaining his guests with a succession of extraordinary devices and surprises, such as, no doubt, were often greeted with applause at the tables of the rich. When the company had taken their places, young Egyptian slaves washed their hands and feet with snow-water. Two others placed on the table a salver inlaid with tortoise-shell, in the middle of which stood an ass of bronze, bearing silver panniers, one filled with white and one with black olives, while on his back sat a Silenus pouring from a wine-skin the favourite sauce, the *garum*. At one side were sausages on a silver gridiron, under which were plums and red pomegranate kernels, to represent glowing coals. Placed around the tray were various vegetables, snails and oysters, and other appetizers suitable to the preliminary course. When the guests had helped themselves, another dish appeared, a hen of carved wood, sitting with expanded wings and brooding over a nest of peafowl's eggs, which were handed among the guests, with silver egg-spoons, weighing half a pound each. To the surprise of some of the guests, the eggs, when broken, disclosed unhatched chicks ; but a closer investigation showed these to be beccaficos in egg-sauce. At a sign from the host, a company of singers entered, who removed the dishes while intoning a solemn chant. A boy, having dropped a silver dish, was about to pick it up, when Trimalchio boxed his ears for his bad manners, and ordered the dish swept out with other fragments.

ROMAN FLOWER-GIRL,
Fresco.

While this *gustatorium* or preliminary course was being removed, wine a hundred years old was brought, which was handled with the greatest care; and then a second course came in, which was properly the first course of the regular meal. To the astonishment of the guests this consisted of the most ordinary dishes; but these proved to be only covers, and when they were lifted, underneath were lying pigeons, fieldfares, capons and ducks, noble barbels and turbot; while in the middle was a fat hare, converted, by the addition of a pair of wings, into a Pegasus. The carver now made his appearance, and cut up the dishes skilfully, keeping time to the sound of soft music.

The second course consisted of a boar, who had two baskets of palm-twigs filled with dates hanging from his tusks. By his side lay eight pigs, modelled by the confectioner very naturally in paste, and each of the guests was to take one of these home with him. After the wild boar came a tame one, which, to the astonishment of the company, had not been disembowelled. The cook, being summoned, pleaded forgetfulness, and while his master is sharply rating him, he rips open the animal with his knife, and out falls a mass of sausages and puddings. While the pig is being removed, and they are wait-



MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENT.
From a fresco

ing for the dessert, the ceiling opens and a silver hoop descends with silver and alabaster phials of essences, silver coronets, and other pretty things, for the guests to take home as keepsakes. The dessert also was much applauded. The pastry was in the forms of shell-fish and fieldfares, while quinces stuck full of almonds represented sea-

urchins. In the middle stood a figure of Vertumnus, with his bosom piled with fruit, but when the guests took hold of the apples and grapes essence of saffron spirited out over them.

Domitian once gave an entertainment of another sort. This was at the time when the malicious tyrant was filling all around him with terror and abhorrence. He had given the populace a great feast, and on the following day he invited the leading senators and knights, the noblest and wealthiest of Rome, to sup with him at a late hour. It was night when they came, and they found the banqueting hall hung with black—walls, ceiling, floor, couches without cushions, all black. At the place of each guest stood a *memento mori*, a small tombstone bearing his name, and beside it a lamp such as was used at funerals. Young slaves, naked and painted black, entered like spectres, danced hideous dances, and then seated themselves at the feet of the guests, to whom they offered, in black dishes, the viands served at funeral-feasts. Silence as of death filled the ghastly hall; only from time to time the sombre voice of Domitian was heard; speaking of death and executions. At last they were dismissed; but in the vestibule their slaves were not to be found; and unknown servants bore them in litters back to their homes. They had hardly recovered from their fright, when a message from the emperor was announced; but this time it was only a polite attention on his part. As a sou-



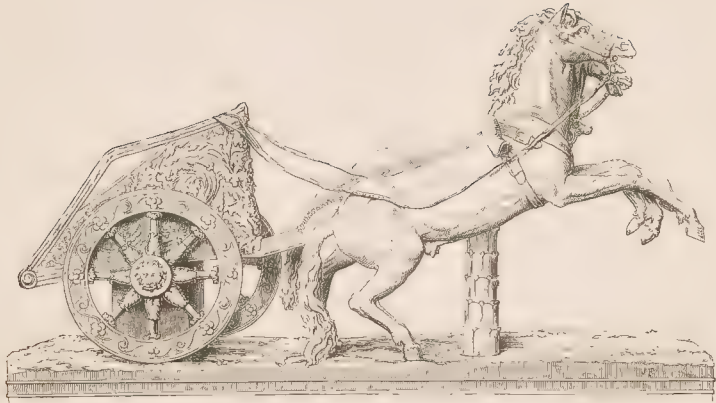
CAROUSAL

DOMESTIC LIFE.

venir of this delightful entertainment, he sent to each the silver tomb stone bearing his name, a piece of the mourning-service, and one of the young demons that had waited on them, now washed, dressed up, and smiling.

Only a fiendish nature like Domitian's could find pleasure in so diabolical a jest.



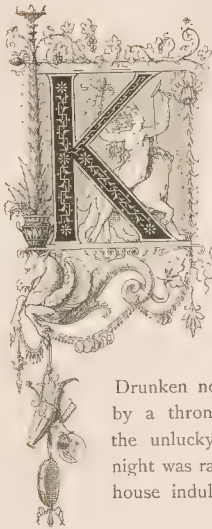


ROMAN RACING CHARIOT.

6.

PUBLIC LIFE.

(STREETS BATHS, GAMES.)



KEEPING the streets lighted at night is a refinement of civilization which apparently never suggested itself to the Romans. The ways were narrow and crooked, and the torches and lanterns borne by guests returning from late entertainments seemed rather to deepen than to dispel the intense gloom. The sidewalk was kept in good order, the carriage-way was well paved, there were whole brigades of night-watchmen, but so soon as night fell, all the ways were full of danger. Rome was the asylum of thieves and rogues, who found here abundant prey, and means of safety in numberless hiding-places such as they could not have in the open country; and like night-owls the darkness brought them from their lurking-places to prowl about the streets.

Drunken nocturnal revellers, young nobles returning from a debauch, attended by a throng of insolent slaves, were the terror of wayfarers, and woe to the unlucky wight who fell into their hands! This scouring the street at night was rather a fashion in imperial Rome. Even the ladies of the emperor's house indulged in these frolics, disguised, and with both male and female com-

PUBLIC LIFE.

panions ; as did Julia, the frail daughter of Augustus, who banished her for her dissolute conduct, and the empress Messalina, the most licentious of all, for whom no place of debauchery was too low or too vile. Even Nero found amusement in these night-prowlings, in which he not only beat others, but sometimes was beaten himself, for who could suspect the emperor in such disguise ?

There were also many noises and disturbances at night to break the slumbers of the weary Quirites. Chief among these were the heavy wagons creaking along the street, for everything that was hauled in or out of the city. building-stone, timber, merchandise and provisions,—had to be transported at night, to avoid the crowds which thronged the streets by day. Full or empty, all draught-wagons were compelled to leave the city at daybreak, as also the



PRESENT CONDITION OF THE FORUM

travelling-carriages, which went to the city gates, and there awaited their owners, who were borne to them in a litter. To use a wheeled vehicle of any kind in the street by day was only allowed to a few, as to triumphing generals, the vestal virgins, and, at a later day, to ladies of exalted rank, to visit the theatre or the like ; but otherwise the litter was the universal conveyance.

As soon as day began to dawn, the clients were seen hurrying through the streets to pay their morning visits. Next came the school-boys, who had to be at school at daybreak ; then the swarms of dealers crying their wares in the streets, or hurrying to their stalls in the market or their customary stands. The booths and shops on the ground-floor of the houses were opened, taverns and wine-shops, distinguished by painted signs or bottles hanging up, opened their doors to the hungry and thirsty workman ; the markets filled, craftsmen opened their shops ; hammering and banging, noise and shouting, began everywhere, to the torment of late sleepers, who in desperation anathematized Rome and its bustle and din.

Soon after the dealers and the workmen came the buyers and the idlers. Slaves hurried rapidly along the streets ; while the Quirites proceeded on their way with measured stately

ROME.

steps, having usually plenty of time on their hands, except when duty, party-interest, or curiosity took them to political meetings at the forum or to the courts of justice, where at times, absorbed in the political events of the day, they remained for hours, or even for whole days. But there was little of this interest in the time of the emperors. Then there were in Rome half a million of idlers, high and low, who spent a great part of the day in the public squares and on the streets, with nothing to do, and yet infinitely busy, coming and going, and increasing the crowd. They hurried from one end of the city to the other to pay visits, hardly knowing whither or to whom; they wanted the fashionable world to see them, and know that they belonged to it. Others were out shopping; hurrying past the taverns and cast-

ing a look of refined disgust into their smoke-be-grimed dens, they paused before the booths, inspecting the wares, or entered the shops where-in were piled the costly fabrics of the Orient, or the beautiful products of Greek genius and skill. With the air of connoisseurs they criticised the sculptures, smelled at the bronze to detect if it were right Corinthian, measured the precious citrus tables, to see if they would suit, and rejected



STREET IN POMPEII.

tius, to see and to be seen, in this cosmopolitan concourse the gray-bearded Greek philosopher jostled the sons of the North, the Dacian, with his wide *braccae*, the fair-haired German clad in skins; the black Nubian met the tattooed Briton, and the Gaul in short tartan cloak brushed by the Arab of the desert and the wild nomad of the Sarmatian steppe; the barbarians from south and north, east and west, made way for the polished courtier or noble lady, lolling in languid indifference on the soft cushions of their litters, the conscious representatives of the highest culture and elegance. These noble personages traversed the streets at an advantage, for brawny slaves and clients preceded and accompanied them, and with sturdy elbows clove a path through the throng. But the duties

them as too small; had costly rarities laid aside for them, and departed at last after purchasing some insignificant trifle.

But Rome was not merely the city of the Quirites; it was a sample of the whole world. On its streets one heard a hundred languages, and saw a hundred national costumes. In the enormous throng which crowded the streets in the morning and swarmed about the forum then promenaded in the Campus Mar-

PUBLIC LIFE.

of politeness were incumbent upon them—*noblesse oblige*—and their exalted station brought with it the penalty of being kissed by everybody who could claim an acquaintance, wine-drinkers and garlic-eaters, high and low, so that not unfrequently they reached their destination "moist with the kisses of all Rome."

At times the current in the street was blocked, and a dense crowd gathered. There was something wonderful to see, giants, dwarfs, or monsters, some singular or rare production of nature, such as gathered to Rome from all the ends of the earth. Proconsuls and magistrates sent them to the emperor; and the emperor was so kind as to exhibit them publicly, while the idle Roman populace, always agog to see anything new, stared at them with infinite curiosity and delight. Or it may be some notice, or a writing on a wall, that attracted the passers-by; a notice of an approaching election to this or that office, in gigantic letters covering a whole house-front, as we now see in English cities; or an item of public news, or a private advertisement of something for sale or hire, or an announcement of a play or other spectacle.

Innumerable specimens of this sort have been preserved on the house-walls of Pompeii, which disclose the whole public—and we might almost say the whole private—life of a Roman provincial town. "I beg you, make Vettius aedile," this is one appeal to the general public, but specially addressed to the bakers and cabinet-makers, barbers and perfumers, muleteers and the club of ball-players—perhaps by one of their colleagues. All candidates are honest men, good citizens, and endowed with every other virtue. Another appending a figure of that animal in bright red by way of illustration. "On the 28th of August," so we can read at this very day, "there will be a show of wild beasts, and Felix will fight with bears." Another notice of a similar character assures the public that awnings will be spread to keep off the sun; while still another adds the prudent clause, "if the weather permits."

These written walls, as we said, give also glimpses into private life. Hate, spite, and love here find expression, and compliments and flatteries stand beside insults and jeers. Sannius directs Cornelius, "Go and hang yourself!" A similar polite attention is directed to one Barcas; almost superfluously, it would seem, as he is declared to be in a consumption. A sponger who was not invited by Lucius Itacidus to supper, announces the shameful fact to the world, and indignantly adds, "Who invites me not to his table, him I hold as a barbarian." But love is even more outspoken than wrath. "Methe loves Chrestus," "Auge loves Amoenius," are not merely frank, but public confessions. One lover complains that Sera has forsaken him; another, signing himself Zozimus, begs Victoria to remember his youth and assist him with money. Poetry also, of a sort, finds place on these walls, for example:

Amor dictates what I write; love my hand is guiding:
More than death I'd hate to be even a god without thee.

It is on the whole but the life of a small town which speaks in these painted and scratched inscriptions, often in bad Latin. If those of Rome had been preserved, they might

C. GAVIVM RUFVM
VILEM R. P. NESONIVS PRIMVS ROGAT
WALL-INSCRIPTION FROM POMPEII.
Causum Gavium Rufum dum-vivum (O'F ora vos facite)
utilem reipublice Vesonius Primus rogat.

announces on the wall what apartments of his house are to let; a landlord makes known in this way that he has just refurnished his tavern at the sign of the Elephant,

ROME.

treat of matters more important, but still the one is a picture of the other, if a picture in miniature.

After noonday, the busy life and bustle began to subside. The free citizen, if still young and vigorous, departed to his exercises, to the bath, and then to supper. Physical exercises had not in Rome the importance that was attached to them in Greece, nor were they so systematically and artistically developed. The Roman practised them for the sake of health, for exercise or as a preparation for war. They were therefore of an easier character, and consisted almost entirely of games of ball, a sport in which the Romans delighted, and which they played in many ways; also in swinging a kind of dumb-bells, and in fencing with the sword at a post. There was therefore no need of the wide space and large buildings of the Greek gymnasia; and most of these exercises might be practised at home. As they immediately preceded the bath, the places for these exercises came at last to form a part of the great bathing establishments, or *thermae*.

These *thermae* constituted one of the peculiar features of Roman life, and were among the finest works of Roman architecture. From the earliest times the Roman was fond of bathing, but his bath was a simple plunge into cold water, without any special appliances. Wealth, luxury, and increasing effeminacy gradually led to establishments of great complexity of arrangement, of vast extent, and fitted out in the most sumptuous manner; and before long every city of Italy and the provinces had its baths, which had become a universal necessity of daily life. To the cold bath, the *frigidarium*, were added the tepid and the warm bath, the *tepidarium* and the *caldarium*, and the bather took one after the other in regular succession. He sat first in a sweating-bath, then had cold water poured over him, and then entered the cold bath. A great marble basin was provided for swimmers, the sexes being separated. Conduits supplied an abundance of pure and limpid water; hypocausts, or underground furnaces, raised it to any required temperature; and a well-arranged system of pipes conveyed it, hot, warm or cold, wherever it was needed. It was allowed to dash in small cascades down marble steps, and was gathered in basins which were arched over by domes and lighted from above.

Attached to these *thermae*, as already mentioned, were spaces for ball-play and other exercises. There were also halls for conversation or public readings, where authors and poets brought out their new works, and singers and musicians displayed their art, and a library open to the public was often added. So they were attended not alone by those who came to bathe; men went to the *thermae* to amuse themselves, or to meet their friends, chatted, promenaded, read, and heard all the latest news of the political, scientific, artistic or social world. Thus the *thermae* became favourite resorts of the Romans; but while the *balnea*, or ordinary baths, abounded in all parts of the city, the great size and costliness of the *thermae* made them but few in number. So whoever wished to gain the favour of the people erected *thermae*. First it was Agrippa, who presented to the people those he had built near the Pantheon; then Titus, Caracalla, Diocletian, whose *thermae*, even in their ruins, amaze us, and which may, in part at least, be reconstructed in imagination, as we have attempted to do in our illustration. And grand as these structures were in their size and architecture, they were no less magnificent in their costly furniture and decorations, in which were employed the rarest marbles, painting, mosaic, and the finest works of sculpture.

Natural warm springs, mineral springs, and sea-bathing, soon led to the establishment of other places of recreation. These the Roman took a special delight in; he hunted up, even in the most distant provinces, any peculiar natural attraction, and made a settlement



BATHS OF CARACALLA.

PUBLIC LIFE.

there ; by beautiful and well-designed buildings made the natural resources of the place accessible and convenient to all ; and spots first resorted to to restore failing health soon became the thronged resorts of gay pleasure-seekers. Baden-Baden, Baden in Switzerland, Aachen, Aix, and very many other modern watering-places still preserve, either in name or in ruins, the memory of Roman times.

It has not so fared with the most famous of all Roman watering-places. Where once the far-famed Baiae stood, now broods the pestilential malaria, which dooms the place to solitude. The once luxurious life has been gone for ages ; palaces, gardens, vegetation, all have vanished ; only the deep-blue waves roll, now as then, up the bay, and caress the softly-curving lines of the strand. The life has all departed to the neighbouring bay of Naples, and desolate, solitary, abandoned, lies the once so lovely shore. Part of the fertile Campania, blest with a delicious climate, where the soft sea-breezes temper alike the heat of summer and the cold of winter, easily accessible from Rome both by land and water, its warm sulphurous springs and its sea-bathing attracted numerous visitors even in the time of the republic. In Cicero's day palaces adorned the strand, and villas, crowned with towers overlooking land and sea, crested the green hills surrounding the bay. The emperors followed the example of the nobles, and made Baiae a favourite place of resort. Inns, lodging-houses, great bathing-establishments provided for the comfort and enjoyment of the guests. The place was alive with pleasure-seekers ; and music, dance, gaming, feasting and carousing afforded continual amusement, while the ever lovely sea invited to excursions upon its waters by night as well as by day. The Lucrine lake was filled with pleasure-boats of bright hue, adorned with gold, gay with purple sails and garlanded masts, bearing gallant companies, brilliant nobles, fair women, who sat at a luxurious banquet, accompanied by music and song, while the softly-gliding barque clove the smooth expanse. With such inducements, and with the presence of Rome's fairest daughters, who flocked wherever pleasure or profit invited, Baiae became a great city of love-adventures. The Romans had long known the perils attending the league of baths, wine, and love.

Balnea, vina, Venus, corrumpunt corpora nostra.

But not baths, wine, and Venus alone, there was still a fourth form of dissipation into which the Roman recklessly, and often ruinously, plunged—and this was the games. This passion was probably as old as Rome itself. *Panem et circenses*—Bread and the circus—this cry rings through all Roman history. But the exaltation of this passion to mere insanity, its penetration into all classes of society, from the rulers down to that hungry mob of paupers living upon the state's dole of corn, the colossal, almost inconceivable, scale on which this passion was gratified—all this came with the advance of empire, beginning about two hundred years B. C., and growing under the emperors, until it was hardly quenched with the fall of the empire itself. Men and women, city and country, alike shared the madness. When the games began, Rome was crowded with visitors until they were forced to bivouac in the streets. Emperors themselves, Nero, Commodus, Caracalla—not the best, it must be admitted—entered the arena or the circus as players and dancers, as gladiators, beast-fighters, or charioteers. Under Marcus Aurelius there were a hundred and thirty-five days in the year devoted to these games and shows, and the number rose until in the middle of the fourth century it reached a hundred and seventy-five, not counting the extraordinary games, such as Titus celebrated for a hundred successive days when he opened the Flavian amphitheatre, now called the Colosseum. Trajan, after his second Dacian war, gave games lasting a hundred and

ROME.



THEATRICAL MASKS.

twenty-three days. It was the high officers, the ambitious grandees of Rome, and the emperors who bore the expenses of these shows, in the hope either to win the favour of the people, or to divert their thoughts from political affairs. With the increasing passion for the games the excitement of the forum was superseded by that afforded by spectacles of blood and death. The cry for freedom died away in the shouts that hailed the victors in the arena.

The games which so delighted the Romans were the usual plays in the theatres, the various contests, especially the races in the circus, and the combats of gladiators with each other and with wild beasts.

The first of these, the dramatic performances, were the least exciting, and therefore were less attended than the others. All the theatres of Rome combined would contain hardly half the spectators who found place on the benches of the amphitheatre, and these again were only about the fourth of those who filled the Circus Maximus. The Colosseum was built for 80,000 spectators; the seats in the Circus held 150,000 under Caesar, and the number rose to 250,000 under Titus, and at last, in the fourth century of the empire, to 385,000. The theatres, on the other hand, contained but a few thousands.

Yet the drama had perfectly adapted itself to the Roman taste. The tragedy, the noblest art and loftiest creation of Greek poetry, had with the Romans to a certain extent reverted to its origin; that is, to the action of a single actor, who, as pantomimist, representing either a male or a female character, produced striking tragic scenes, isolated from their dramatic connexion, dancing, gesticulating and declaiming, to the accompaniment of music. But the *pantomimus* did not always speak: there was a variety of this performance in which a speaker declaimed the words, and the pantomimus, the proper actor, made the gestures. And in this strange caricature of the Greek tragedy, the player might rise to fame, distinction, and wealth. But in popular favour this serious, if not noble art, stood far below the comedy. In the *atellanae*, the burlesque drama of Campanian origin, which was played with certain fixed characters, and in the *imus*, the licentious farce, the broad comedy, crude even to coarseness, reached an expression that could not be surpassed. The lowest speech of the lowest populace was here brought in all its crudity upon the stage. The obscenity, the audacity, were here more free and loose than in life itself; for which cause these plays were never witnessed by modest women. This had always been the Roman taste; the coarser and more biting the wit, the more free the subject, the better they were pleased.

But though this exhibition found applause and spectators, yet it could not throw the whole population, the whole nation, we might say, into excitement, as did the contests of the circus and the arena. It was these that roused all the passions of the people.

As far back as the time of the kings, the valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills had been used as a circus. First, a mere scaffolding of wood, burnt down more than once, rebuilt, enlarged, furnished with seats of stone running up the slope of the hills, then built in, the Circus became the Circus Maximus, and gradually grew to the stupendous dimensions

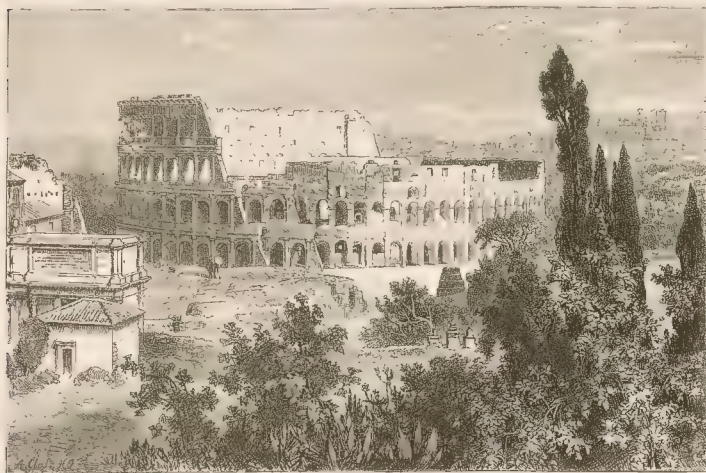


CIRCUS MAXIMUS.

PUBLIC LIFE.

already mentioned. The lowest tiers of seats were reserved for the emperor, the senatorial order, and their wives and families; then followed those of the equestrian order; and above these again, row rising above row, those of the people, men and women sitting together. In the upper arcades of these buildings swarmed by day and night a motley throng; here were eating-shops and taverns, buyers and sellers, loose women of all nations, diviners, jugglers, and mountebanks, music and dance, gaming and carousing. It was a place of metropolitan diversion, but of the lowest sort.

Performers of various kinds descended into the arena to exhibit their skill under the eyes of all Rome; but that which most of all riveted the eyes and excited the passions of the people was the chariot-racing. For centuries it held Rome fascinated, so that wars, defeats, and the threatening danger of the barbarians were forgotten. And yet the Romans were



RUINS OF THE COLOSSEUM, SEEN FROM THE PALATINE.

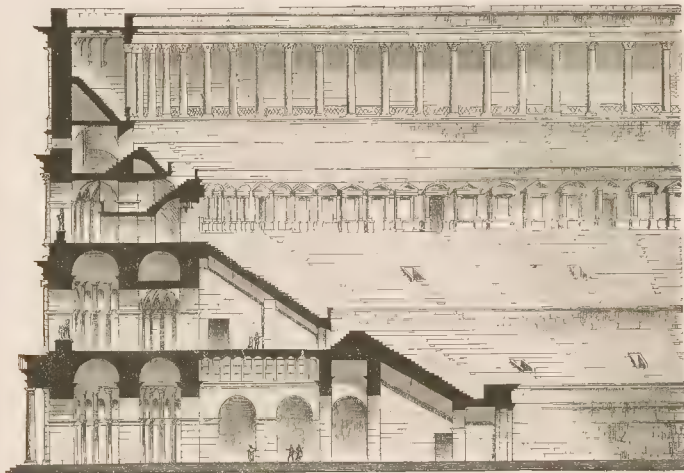
spectators only. With a few exceptions of insane emperors, and those who voluntarily or under compulsion followed their example, no Roman entered the arena. At the national festivals and games of the Greeks, every one who contended must be a free unattainted Hellene; with the Romans the contestants were as a rule either hired performers, who made it their business, slaves, freedmen, or prisoners of war.

The chariot-race required a long preparation. The horses had to be trained for it, and the drivers only acquired their skill by long practice; stables, workshops, and a numerous personnel were needed. So he who wished to offer the people this entertainment could not of himself at once provide it. To meet this necessity companies had been formed, who kept in readiness all that was needed—stables, horses, drivers, and splendid caparisons. These preparations were of a costly kind, and the prices were heavy. There was a rivalry between the different companies, which showed itself on the course. At first there were four of these, distinguished by their liveries, the white, the red, the blue, and the green. Thus it was in Cali-

ROME.

gula's and Nero's time, of whom the former was an enthusiastic connoisseur, and the latter an accomplished virtuoso in the art. At a later date the white and the red disappeared, and the blue and the green remained the two factions which divided all Rome. Emperor followed emperor, century succeeded century, Rome fell into the hands of the Germans, the empire was split in two, and still it is the blues and the greens in whose rivalry the people are absorbed with not merely unflagging, but even increasing passion. From Rome the factions made their way to Constantinople, and here the heat of partisanship rose to bloody fighting in the streets, and to open insurrection.

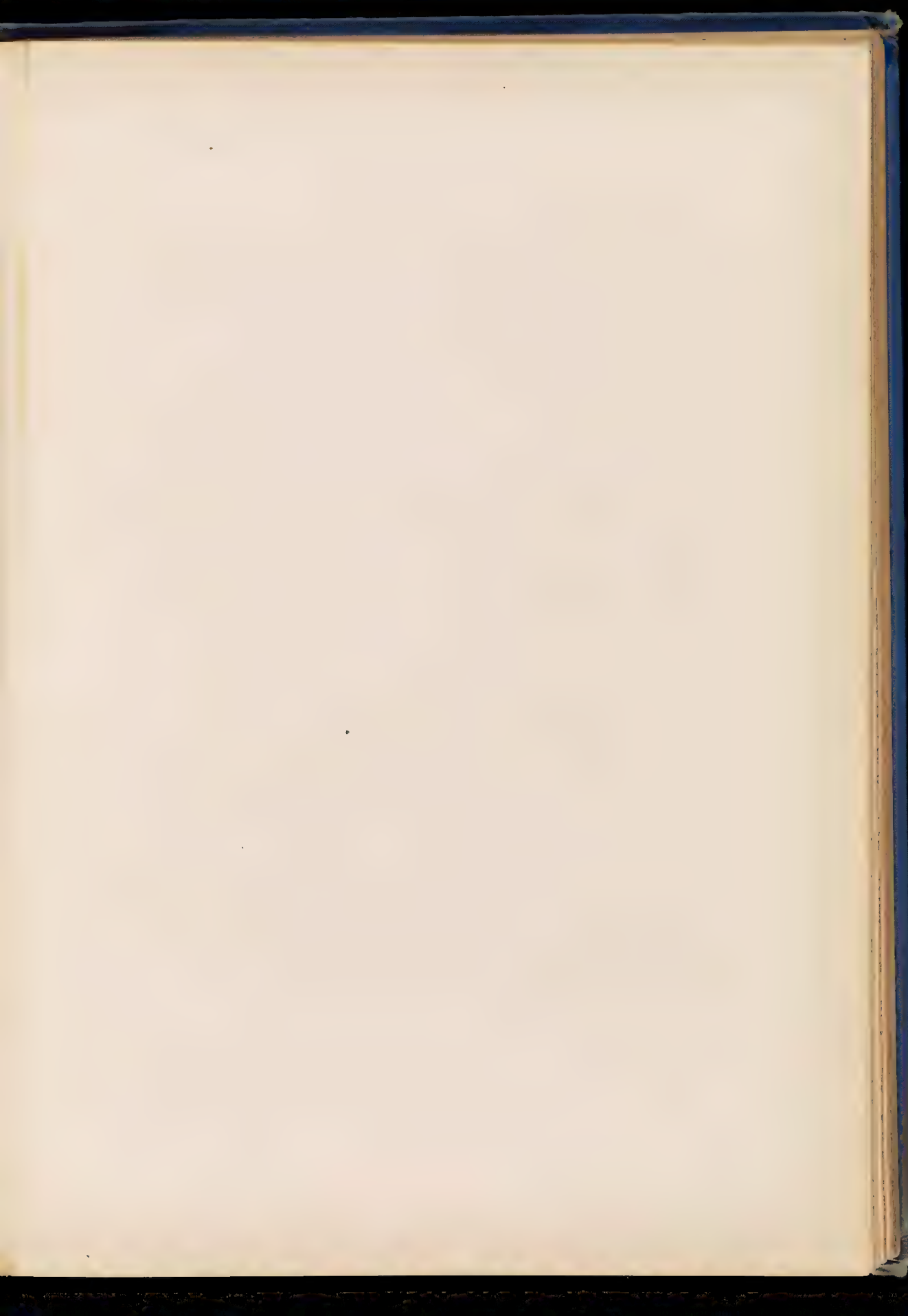
On the day of the races, the streets of Rome, long before daybreak, were alive with people. The whole population of the city thronged to the city to secure good places, for the sports began early, and the spectators often did not return until evening, by torch-light. The



SECTION, SHOWING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE COLOSSEUM.

games were opened with a religious solemnity, a procession of the statues of the gods, drawn in cars, or borne on thrones; at its head the giver of the entertainment, in purple robe, with clients, priests, and loud music, all splendidly adorned. From the Capitol the procession descended, took its way across the forum, and so to the circus, where it traversed the course amid the loud applause of the spectators. The races then began. The chariots usually ran by fours, with teams of two or four horses, the drivers dressed in the colours of their respective companies. The course had to be circled seven times, and seven times the difficult turn made at the post, before the victor could drive back over the chalk-line, accompanied all the while by the gaze, the shouts, and cries of the excited multitude. Twenty-four of these races were usually given in a day. At noon there was a brief pause, during which the emperors not unfrequently caused refreshments to be given to the hundreds of thousands of spectators.

It is hard to understand the passionate excitement which these races aroused, in which





CHARIOT-RACE IN THE



THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS.

PUBLIC LIFE.

every element, the horses, the parties, the drivers, were perfectly indifferent to the public; but harder still is it for us to comprehend the pleasure of the Romans in the combats of men with each other and with wild beasts. Here it was blood, wounds, the madness of real fighting, butchery on a grand scale, that gave the hideous delight.

This Roman custom was not derived from Greece. The beginnings were small, but with a people of the combative and sanguinary temper of the Romans, it soon attained gigantic proportions. The populace could never be satiated with the sight of men and beasts butchering and mangling each other. Nero, in his earlier days, while he was yet under the influence of Seneca, wished to do away with these bloody spectacles; while Titus, the mild and benevolent Titus, the friend of the human race, in his kindness to the people clamouring for blood, could not refuse to crowd the arena with victims. He gave an entertainment lasting a hundred days, when he opened the amphitheatre built by his father Vespasian; that enormous circuit of stone, which, even in its ruins to-day is the wonder of the world. In these shows five thousand wild beasts fought, and nine thousand, wild and tame together, were the victims of these hundred days.

Even in Caesar's time wild or strange animals were sent in great numbers to Rome to be exhibited to the people. He let four hundred lions and forty elephants fight in the arena; while Pompey only offered the people eighteen elephants, but between five and six hundred lions. Trajan reached the highest figures; after his second Dacian campaign he exhibited, in a festival lasting four months, eleven thousand animals. To procure these, the inhabitants of all the frontier provinces were employed. The difficulties of obtaining them constantly increased, for under such a gigantic and organized system of hunting, the animals either were exterminated or took refuge in the interior and Asia or Africa. What was then destroyed at a single spectacle would to-day enrich all the menageries of Europe. Tigers, hippopotami, rhinoceroses, crocodiles, not to mention lynxes, panthers, leopards, and wild boars, were brought in multitudes, and not the least difficulties in the way were those of transport and feeding.

It would seem that the Romans had especial skill in the management of animals, or they could not have succeeded in taming and training them to such an astonishing degree. We have before mentioned how Mark Antony drove through Italy in a chariot drawn by lions. Caesar was escorted home at night by elephants carrying torches. The Romans knew how to make tigers and lions docile and gentle as dogs; stags and panthers were taught to draw chariots; elephants danced, performed on the tight-rope, and wrote Latin.

In the arena of the amphitheatre beasts fought with beasts, or with men. Animals of different species were provoked to encounter each other, as a rhinoceros with an elephant, or elephants with buffaloes. They were baited by hunters with dogs, on foot and on horseback, singly and in herds. The emperors Claudius and Nero sent whole squadrons of the praetorians to encounter panthers and lions. In the arena also sentences of death were executed by means of wild beasts, the criminal being either allowed to defend himself, or else bound to a post to be rent to pieces, to the extreme diversion of the spectators.

Under the arena was a series of vaulted spaces which served not only as cages for the wild beasts, but were also arranged, with great technical skill, to produce many scenic surprises and transformations. Thus at one time the arena represented a ship, which suddenly fell to pieces and poured out an enormous quantity of various animals, lions, panthers, bears, ostriches, which rushed wildly about. At another time the ground opened, and out of the chasm rose a magic forest, among whose trees strange animals were roving, while fountains, gushing with perfumed waters, shed fragrance all around. On one occasion an unlucky singer had to

ROME.

represent Orpheus. His music seemed to enchant all nature; trees and rocks bowed before him; the birds, apparently ravished by his tones, hovered over his head; the beasts from all sides came fawning about him; when suddenly a number of bears made their appearance and rent the luckless musician to pieces, not in theatrical show, but in very genuine reality.

Whoever looked at scenes like these with pleasure, to him murder also might be a fine art, and an entertaining spectacle. Thus the combats of gladiators, when they had once been introduced from Campania and Etruria to Rome, were soon exhibited on the gigantic scale of the beast-fights. Caesar produced in the arena a hundred and twenty pairs; Augustus



PRAETORIANS. FROM A KEMILI.

during his long reign raised the number to ten thousand, but Trajan exhibited as many in four months. These combats lasted for days and weeks: the gladiators fought sometimes in pairs, sometimes in companies, with similar or dissimilar weapons; they fought by night as well as by day, on the water as well as on land; there were even great sea-fights exhibited, as that on the Fucine lake, in which the stupid, cruel Claudius caused no less than nine thousand to butcher each other.

Some of these gladiators were condemned criminals, others slaves, or prisoners of war. The Romans rather piqued themselves on this device for extracting amusement from a conquered people. Many were volunteers; for although the class was despised, yet fame might be won in the arena; and it was something for an ambitious ruffian to display his courage and skill under the eyes of the emperor and the whole Roman people, and be greeted with tumultuous applause when he came as victor from the deadly strife.

The gladiators were kept in barracks, either those of private individuals, or those of the state. Domitian built four of these barracks at the public expense ; they were wide courts, surrounded with small chambers like cells. Here the gladiators were well fed and cared for ; when sick or wounded they were attended by the most skilful physicians ; and here they were instructed in the various arts of fighting. Many fought after the modes of their own countries, as the Britons, in war-chariots ; others with swords, in the strange armour represented in the Pompeian frescoes ; and others again as *retiarii*, armed with a trident, a dagger, and a net, in which they entangled their antagonists.

They appeared upon the arena in splendid armour or attire, and marched in procession around it with lowered weapons, greeting Caesar as they passed his seat with the shout, *morituri te salutant!* The blast of trumpets gave the signal, and amid the din of horns, pipes, and flutes, the combat began. Roused to the highest pitch by the deadly character of the struggle, by the infinite multitude of excited spectators, and by the passion to distinguish themselves, they fought with desperation. Without a cry or sound they sank to earth on receiving the fatal blow. This was the will of the people ; a gladiator's business was to die, and not to ask for mercy. It stood in the pleasure of the people to grant them their lives ; but usually they gave the sign of death by stretching out the hands with extended thumbs.

Gradually the arena was strewn with corpses, like a field of battle ; from time to time they were dragged away, and the ground swept or fresh sand thrown over the pools of blood. While the victors were waving their palms, the corpses were borne out through the "gate of the goddess of death."

These games had firmly implanted themselves in the Roman people, and they only fell when the state itself fell. Christianity long protested against them in vain : and there were even adherents of that faith who delighted in these spectacles and counted them not the least among the pleasures which a bounteous Providence had bestowed. This view we may presume was somewhat modified when, as happened in times of persecution, they had to descend from the ranks of spectators and enter the arena in person. The East was first to abolish these spectacles, and when the Arabs and Germanic races ruled the world and its civilization, the knightly encounters, the tourneys, took their place. But reminiscences of them are still left ; and to this day the bull-fights of Spain trace their origin in a direct line from the Roman arena.



GLADIATORS

From a painting on the parapet of the amphitheatre at Pompeii.



R.R.

SUOVETAURILIA

H. BONTHEA. SC.

7.

RELIGIOUS LIFE.



URING Rome's history we may distinguish in the religion of the people and the state, three well-defined epochs. The first is that of the ancient, undisputed, and undisturbed belief in the old Italic tradition of the Latins and Sabines; the second is the epoch of Hellenic influence, and at the same time that of doubt, atheism, philosophic unbelief among the more cultivated; while the third is that of purified paganism, a revived belief, which at last fell before the advance of Christianity. But in all three both state and people are alike religious. Religiosity was an essential characteristic of the Roman; and religion was a necessity of the state as well as of the people.

It is true that in religious matters also the Roman was not gifted with the imagination of the Greeks, nor with their artistic productive power. He could not invest his gods with the charms of mythos, nor did he conceive them in complete and individual human form, until Greek art came to his aid.

The gods of that earlier epoch, if not altogether mere abstractions, still in both form and personality are beings of very imperfect development. But they were not on this account any the less a necessity of Roman life, and objects of sincere veneration. The Roman was pious in his private life, and the state, as such, was pious; and noth-

RELIGIOUS LIFE.

ing of importance, whether of private or public nature, was undertaken without consulting the will, or imploring the aid of the gods.

The indefiniteness of the ancient primitive divinities was doubtless a reason that the number of the gods rapidly increased, which it did in two ways. In the first place, the Roman had an immense tolerance for alien gods. He had his own national divinities, and perceived the reasonableness of other nations having theirs. When he conquered a foreign state, and destroyed a foreign city, he made no scruple of transporting the patron gods bodily to Rome; so that in Rome, just as there were old and new citizens, so there were old settlers and newcomers among the gods.

In the second place, the Roman mind readily saw divine operation and influence in everything, in nature as well as in human life; and thus he resolved, so to speak, his ancient abstract gods into their component qualities, and made each attribute a special divinity.

Carrying out this analytical system of theogony, he brought things to such a pass that he peopled the world with a multitude of divinities, and at last came to the personification of pure abstract conceptions, the apotheosis of allegory. Thus he saw no difficulty in adoring a still living emperor as a god, building temples and altars in his honour, and offering sacrifices to him.



ALTAR.

city and country, field and stream, were peopled with divinities. The forest had its Faunus, whom the influence of Greek ideas turned into a Satyr-like figure, and surrounded with a crew of similar shapes; the stream had its nymph, the house its *penates*; the souls of departed ancestors were worshipped in the house as *lares* (*i. e.*, lords); while bad souls prowled about, spectre-like, in the *lemures* and *larvae*. And as all were peopled with divinities, so town and country grew full of holy places and of temples, which the Roman religion in its primitive form had not needed. Magnificent buildings in the Greek style, vast pillared halls, bore witness to the piety of the state: while smaller shrines and monuments, niches with images, altars, arose everywhere, in the streets and squares, at cross-roads, in gardens and groves, at all frequented or otherwise conspicuous places.

Thus the religious character of the Romans came everywhere into view; but notwithstanding this, except in certain circles and times, punctually as they performed all their religious duties, they never submitted to a priestly hierarchy. The priest was an officer of the state; as such he had a certain set of fixed and limited duties to perform, and no authority was given him beyond these. There were priests and priesthoods of the several deities, and there was a general college of *pontifices*, who exercised a supervisory authority over

So we need not be surprised to find that with the Romans the age of childhood had appropriated to itself no less than thirty guardian and tutelary divinities. The state as such had its peculiar deities, so every association, every fraternity, every family, every house, even every individual, had his especial genius who watched over him from birth to death. Air and sea,

all matters pertaining to religion. Each of the principal gods had his chief priest, the *flamen*, i. e. the "kindler" or "blower," so called from his original duties of kindling the altar fire and making the burnt-offering. The highest of these was the priest of Jupiter, the *flamen dialis*, a man who stood in high honour, and whose whole life was devoted to the service of the god. For this reason he and all his house were exempt from all public duties. Being a man wholly consecrated to divine things, he might touch nothing impure; he could not even approach a corpse or a place of interment; all common work was suspended when his eye fell upon it, and a criminal who entered his house was set free. He was not permitted to behold chains or fetters, to mount a horse, or to look at an armed force. His wife was subjected to the same restrictions; and their marriage was the holiest in Rome; nothing but death could part it.

Equally strict was the law of the vestals, the six virgins consecrated to the service of Vesta, the goddess of the house, whose duty it was to maintain the sacred fire on her altar. Chosen from the noblest families of the state, free from every bodily defect, they served the goddess for thirty years of a pure and blameless life. A breach of chastity was punished by death; the offender being walled up living in her tomb. But during their ministry they were most highly honoured. When, in white robes, the brow bound with the priestly fillet, they walked the streets attended by a lictor, all, even to the consul, the chief of the republic, reverently made way for them. Whoever offered them insult was punished with death; but if a vestal accidentally met a malefactor on his way to execution, he was pardoned. At all public festivals and entertainments, and at the pontifical banquets, they had the place of honour.

The supervision of the vestals belonged to the *pontifex maximus* the head of that college which had charge of the religious affairs of the state, which preserved the ceremonial tradition, took care that all sacrifices were properly made, and that to each god the proper victims were offered and in the proper manner—in a word, had the whole knowledge and control of everything pertaining to religion. Nor was their province limited to these alone, for this college of pontifices, whose name came from the bridges over the Tiber, were originally also the engineers of the state; they regulated the calendar, and fixed the annual festivals; they preserved the public documents and kept a record of important events, and thus were the first archivists and historians of Rome. Thus their activity was extensive while their power was limited; they gave counsel in many affairs, but only when they were called upon by public officers, or applied to by individuals; they decided under what circumstances, when and how, the gods were to be consulted; but the inquiries themselves were made through another college, that of the augurs, or that whose duty it was to keep and consult the Sibylline books to know the will of the deities.

The science of augury, or that of reading in the stars and other heavenly phenomena their intimations regarding human affairs, whether encouraging or deterring from any projected undertaking, was an old Italian superstition, common to all the races. The Romans had possessed it from the first; the people clung to it with implicit faith, and on all critical occasions the state never omitted to consult the auguries. Any one might observe a sign or token in the heavens; but it must occur in a certain definite manner, and phenomena of a certain kind must be interpreted according to certain rules. There was therefore an ancient tradition and an ancient science of divination, whose knowledge was preserved in the college of augurs and *haruspices*, that is, the observers of birds and victims. The augur or the *haruspex* therefore was necessary for a proper interpretation of any sign or token.

The augur, whose duty it was to interpret the signs of the heavens, lightning, or the

RELIGIOUS LIFE.

flight of birds, when he set about his duty, drew upon the ground a square, a holy enclosure, called the *templum*, which he divided by transverse lines into four quadrates, corresponding to a similar ideal division of the firmament. He then took his stand in the centre, with his face toward the south, and whatever appeared on his left was favourable, and that on his right, unfavourable. But the whole affair was not so simple as this. The manner in which the bird or the flash entered the celestial figure, the form of the flash, or the species of bird, or even its cry, all had an effect upon the significance of the sign. Still more complicated was the science of the haruspices or consultants of entrails, who had been introduced with the augurs from Etruria. These examined the lungs, liver, heart, and other viscera of the animal sacrificed, and from this information drew the data of their divinations. This art to a great extent superseded the augury by the flight of birds, as the latter lost its hold upon popular faith; and both had but little weight with the men of more intelligence. Cicero tells us that the elder Cato used to say that he wondered how one augur could look another in the face without laughing. The auguries therefore were in imperial times only consulted on public affairs, and on account of the belief of the populace, which was always credulous and superstitious to the last degree. It even had faith in the sacred chickens which, on account of their prophetic properties, generals going on a campaign carried with them in coops, and consulted before a battle, by the simple process of scattering grain before them. If they ate with avidity, it was a good sign, and one always easy to procure by a little preliminary starvation. The commander of a Roman fleet once, when they refused to eat, threw coop and all into the sea, remarking that they should drink, at all events. They drowned, and he was defeated.

Like the auguries, the whole religious ceremonial of the Romans was derived from ancient tradition, the prayers, the sacrifices, and the festivals, with the chanting of ancient hymns whose obsolete language was no longer intelligible, with dances, sports, and banquets, the best share of which fell to the priests. If any error was committed, or any interruption occurred, the whole ceremony and sacrifice had to be repeated. For this reason a sacrifice was always accompanied with music, the sound of which was to prevent disturbing noises from reaching the ears and distracting the attention of the celebrants.

In the most ancient times the Romans offered the fruits of the earth, —especially parched meal mingled with salt, the *mola salsa*, together with honey, milk, wine, and cakes. When bloody sacrifices were introduced, the swine was considered the most acceptable offering to the gods, the Roman having himself a partiality for roast pork. When the state gave a solemn sacrifice, a pig, a sheep, and a bullock were offered in the *suovetaurilia*. Prayer was offered standing, the hands held up, except when the prayer was addressed to the powers of the underworld; but the Roman did not raise hands and eyes like the Greeks, but covered his head with his toga during his prayer. The victim, adorned with garlands, was brought before the altar,



ROMAN MAKING AN OFFERING.

and if a bullock, the horns were wound with fillets which streamed over the back ; the forehead was sprinkled with the *mola salsa*, and a tuft of hair was cut off by a priest and cast into the altar-flame. A bullock was felled by a blow with an axe ; smaller victims were killed by piercing the throat. The entrails were then taken out and inspected by the *haruspex*. If they were in a satisfactory condition, they were sprinkled with wine, a libation of wine and incense was poured out, and the assemblage was dismissed. The sacrifice was over, and the priests could now betake themselves to their repast.

A banquet of priests and priestesses was the termination of all religious festivals, which were numerous distributed throughout the year, and for the most part celebrated with great sumptuousness. The year opened with the feast of the two-faced Janus, New-Year's Day. Offerings of wine, incense and cakes were made to the god, and everybody exchanged congratulations and gifts of figs, dates, honey-cakes, branches of laurel or palm, and coins bearing the effigy of Janus. In March, Mars had his festival, or rather his priests had theirs, the ancient college of the *Salii*, who preserved the sacred shields, and bearing these performed warlike dances at their festival, and thus went in procession through the city, dancing and chanting hymns of hoary antiquity, accompanied also was celebrated by women, and with especial extravagance. But the greatest license was shown at the close of the year, on the feast of Saturnus, the ancient deity under whose rule the earth had once known an age of peace and happiness. In memory of this, or at least with a thought of this, the Saturnalia were celebrated, at first only on the nineteenth of December, the day of the winter solstice, but afterwards continued to the twenty-fifth. This was the forerunner of our Christmas, a feast that made all alike, young and old, rich and poor, master and slave. All labour ceased, all schools gave holidays, all courts were closed. Masters and servants ate at the same table, and everywhere were tables spread ; it was a merry time for the poor, much-enduring clients. A special market—a sort of Christmas fair—offered for sale the various objects which were universally given as presents : pretty knick-knacks of all sorts, ornaments for the person, toilette articles, dainties, sweet cakes, dolls for the children,



FLORA.

panied by the flute. At various points they had stations, houses where they halted and partook of copious refreshments to sustain them in their exertions. When spring was well advanced, the rural deities had their feasts, as Pales the goddess of shepherds, whose festival on the 21st of April, the *Palilia*, was also the anniversary of the founding of Rome. At the *Palilia* the shepherds built fires of straw through which they leaped amid mirth and jests. In May came the feast of the *Dea Dia*, a goddess of the fields, which was celebrated by the college of *Fratres Arvales*, or "field-brethren," for three days with sacrifices and banquets. When the corn bloomed, there was the feast of Flora,

RELIGIOUS LIFE.

and tapers of wax. The time was passed in feasting and merry-making; and men played at dice (forbidden at other times) for money, and the children for nuts.

Festivals and games were also given to the dead. There was something genial in the views and observances of Rome connected with the departed. Though the spirits of the deceased returned no more from the land of darkness, the living still preserved the association of memory with them. The departed had started on a long journey, or sunk into a deep sleep, and the god of death, the fair gentle youth, brother of sleep, turns and extinguishes his torch. The place where the body or its ashes rested was a place beloved; a monument, often a beautiful piece of architecture, was raised over it, trees and flowers made the spot a garden, and benches invited to linger there.



HAUSPEX

The funeral ceremonies of the Romans were very elaborate, and in the case of nobles or the wealthy were attended by a large concourse. A last kiss took the expiring breath from the lips of the dying, and a loving hand closed his eyes; his name was called aloud, and a loud lamentation made. The body was then washed, anointed, dressed, adorned, and laid upon a rich couch covered with costly hangings and strewn with flowers, where it remained to be viewed by the friends for several days until the funeral took place. The whole arrangement of this lay in the hands of an undertakers' company, the temple servants of Venus Libitina, who held everything in readiness, furnished the coffins or urns, the adornments and attendants, marshalled the procession and provided the pyre or the grave. As with the Greeks, both burial and incineration were in use, interment being more common in earlier times, then burning, and finally burial again; for which reason the many sarcophagi found, some richly adorned with sculpture, all belong to the latest times.

ROME.

The procession moved through the most populous streets, to enlist the sympathy of the people, who indeed were often invited, *en masse*, to the funeral of a distinguished man. The march was opened by flute-players, then followed the professional mourning-women with their chants of woe, then a company of mimes or actors, who declaimed, and even jested with the people. One of them personated the deceased, others wore the waxen masks of ancestors, clad in their garb, and wearing their insignia. If the deceased had been a man of eminence, pictures representing his illustrious actions, and the names of his victories or of the cities and lands he had conquered were carried in the procession. Then followed the corpse upon a bier richly decorated, borne by kinsmen, friends, or freedmen; then the mourners and company assembled, senators, knights, magistrates, the populace and the slaves all who wished to do



THE SO-CALLED PYRAMID OF CESTIUS, A ROMAN TOMB.

honour to the dead or manifest their sympathy. At the forum the procession halted, the ancestral representatives took their seats in the curule chairs, and one of the nearest kinsmen or friends mounted the tribune and delivered the funeral oration, praising the ancestors in their order, and commemorating the deeds, honours, and distinctions of the departed. This done, the cortège moved on to the place of burial or incineration.

If the body was to be burned, there stood the pyre ready, surrounded by cypresses. The body was laid upon it, and the pile kindled by the next of kin. As the flames arose, incense, perfumes, locks of severed hair, and other things were cast into them. When the wood had burned down, the embers were quenched, the ashes were sprinkled with wine and milk, mingled with perfumes, and these placed in the urn. If the vault was already prepared, the urn or casket containing the ashes was placed in it with phials of perfume, incense, jewelry or other articles which the deceased had prized. The last greeting was then given: "Farewell, thou pure soul!" "Lightly rest the earth upon thee!" "May thy remains repose in



VIA APPIA NEAR ROME.

On both sides are tombs and monuments, that of Caecilia Metella in the middle distance. In the foreground the third milestone. (Restoration.)

RELIGIOUS LIFE.

peace," were heard from one and another. The participants finally purified themselves with consecrated water, and the assembly dispersed to celebrate nine days later the funeral feast, which might be repeated yearly thereafter at the *feralia*, the general festival of the dead. At this festival the grave was illuminated with lamps, sprinkled with odours, decked with garlands, and a memorial meal was partaken of.

The coffins of the poor were deposited in the earth, and a mound heaped over them. For those who had means, the grave was walled up, and adorned with a memorial stone, a small column, a cippus, an altar or a Hermes. An inscription recorded the name and family of the deceased, while military officers or statesmen had their titles, offices and insignia rehearsed. In the case of women, honourable mention was made of their virtues, or grief at their loss expressed, sometimes in touching words. "I await my husband," one is made to say; while in another case the mourning husband records, "She never caused me a sorrow save by her death."

Noble and wealthy families had stately monuments erected, either in the form of



IN THE STREET OF GRAVES AT POMPEII.

pyramids, as that of Cestius at Rome, or of temples, or buildings of a freer style of architecture, such as the mausoleum of Hadrian, now the Castle of Sant' Angelo. They liked to place these monuments by the side of frequented streets or roads, as we may notice by their ruins along the Appian Way at Rome, or on a smaller scale, in the street of graves that has been opened at Pompeii. Visible from a distance, and often visited by the living, they enclosed the remains of many departed ones. Descending by a flight of stairs to the subterranean chambers, the visitor found himself in a wide rectangular or circular apartment, the walls of which contained in numerous niches the urns and caskets holding the ashes of the dead. These apartments were called *columbaria*, because they resembled pigeon-houses with their rows of nests; and many of them have been discovered in modern times. When the Christians had become numerous in Rome and included many persons of distinction, they buried their dead in the vaults of the catacombs, whence their bones have been brought in later times to be revered as relics.

As the numerous inscriptions on graves scattered over the whole Roman dominion testify, the belief in the old gods subsisted to the end of the empire; and indeed in the second century of imperial rule it seemed to revive to a new life. The higher classes and men of letters had altogether abandoned the ancient faith. With the entrance of Hellenism, after the time of Pyrrhos, the old Roman gods themselves became Hellenized and identified with those of

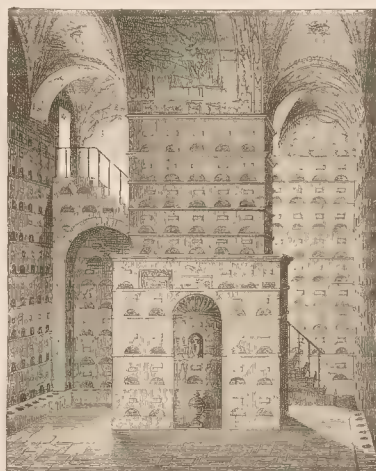
Greece, and took on their human forms and individual characteristics. But at the same time Greek philosophy also entered those circles which, like the Scipios, Laelius, and Aemilius Paulus, had become penetrated with Greek influence and with admiration for Greek literature and art. And with philosophy came also Greek scepticism, in some cases, as with the poet Lucretius, even going as far as hatred of the ancient gods. Above all it was the doctrines of Epikouros which emancipated their spirits from fear of the gods, from all pious traditions, all prejudices, all belief, good or bad. He taught that happiness lay in the calm of the spirit, whose equanimity no passion, no enthusiasm, no emotion of any kind could disturb, and such disturbance was caused by religion and fear of the gods, by patriotism, love of family, and all similar affections.

This Epicurean philosophy was for a long time the fashionable doctrine in Rome.

Thus the higher classes became separated from the people, and culture dissociated from the national faith. The men of cultivation, who were the ruling men in the state, cast away with their faith all pious customs, and of course all sacrifices, prediction, and divination. The augurs and haruspices they

can not do without positive faith: the human heart can not be satisfied with philosophy. Epikouros might destroy the existing belief, but he could not do away with the need for one. Jupiter and Mars, Minerva and Diana, had become to many mere nursery-tales, yet even these wanted gods, wished to believe in higher beings who ruled the destinies of the world and of men. And of such gods there was no lack in Rome, for when she became the capital of the world, with the invasion of strange nations that entered her walls, came also an irruption of alien deities. Kybele, the Phrygian mother of the gods, with her orgiastic worship, Astarte and Mithras, Isis and Serapis, had entered Rome and spread their cultus throughout the empire. They all found numerous adherents in those circles in which the faith in the Hellenic and Roman gods had been destroyed. Especially were women captivated by the new faiths, attracted by the secrecy, the strangeness and the mysticism. But mysticism is always a near neighbour to abuse; and the nightly orgies of priests and priestesses, the apparitions and incantations, turned the belief that had sprung from unbelief into gross forms of superstition.

There came a reaction from these abuses and superstitions, and in the second century of



COLUMBARIUM.

looked upon as liars and impostors. But they recognized in all this a necessity for the state, something needed by the simple masses of the people. Therefore the ceremonies, offerings, and auguries of the state were kept up undisturbed, believed on the one hand, and scorned and laughed at on the other. This was the state of things in the last two centuries of the republic and at the beginning of the empire.

But the world

RELIGIOUS LIFE.

the empire the ancient gods of Greece and Rome rose again to life and veneration, not merely with the populace, but in those very regions where they had been most contemned. They seemed more human, more sympathetic, seemed to stand nearer to man. Temples arose once more, stately in architecture and rich in adornment, built by emperors, nobles, and municipalities, and the reviving art of Hadrian's time peopled them with countless statues of gods.

The antique world of beautiful gods showed a stronger vitality than had been expected. Once more it gains the mastery, though the foe that is to overthrow it forever is secretly growing and strengthening. True these are not quite the same gods as those of yore. They have made a transit through philosophy, and in this journey have brushed off all the rubbish of myths and legends which defaced their pure forms. Men wanted a creator and ruler of the world, and Jupiter presented himself in lofty and majestic form; his all-pervading might and unceasing activity needed servants and ministers to execute his behests and make known his will to men; and the old Olympos offered these, with names and attributes ready provided.

In this sense O Being revered under a thousand names, Jupiter, eternal and almighty One, Lord of nature, who guidest all things according to law! This immeasurable universe which circles round the earth obeys thy behests without a murmur, for thou holdest in thine invisible hand the instrument of thy will, the lightning, that living and flaming weapon, at whose crashing blows all nature trembles. Thus thou guidest the activity of the universal reason which penetrates all beings and is mingled with the great and the lesser lights of the world. Highest ruler of the universe, nought happens upon earth without thee, nought in the ethereal and divine heavens, nought in the sea; nought except the sin which the wicked commit. Jupiter, God, whom dark clouds conceal, pluck mankind from their sad ignorance; disperse the darkness of their souls, O our Father, and grant them to comprehend the thought that serves thee in ruling the world with righteousness. Then shall we, in



IN THE CATACOMBS.

philosophy might agree with faith; at least the Stoic philosophy, which at this time was the prevailing school. Stoicism sought to reconcile theology with the teachings of the sages; and to do this it freed the former from all offensive and disfiguring legends. The people might return to their gods in their purified state, might offer sacrifice and consult the oracle; while the philosopher might once more pray to Jupiter as Kleanthes prayed:—"I hail thee, most glorious of the immortals,

ROME.

reverential adoration, give thee the reward of thy beneficence, unceasingly celebrating in fitting words the works of thy hands and the universal law of all beings."

This Jupiter, so conceived and so revered, might, it would seem, have long resisted the God of the Christians; and indeed he held his own for two centuries more. But his hour, and that of the classic world, had struck. Gods and arts, the state and the religion, had lived their day together, and together they fell. The barbarian flood swept over the places of classic culture; the German took his seat upon the chair of Caesar, and the invisible God of the Christians upon the throne of Jupiter.





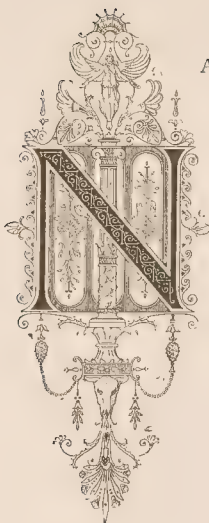
RELIEF FROM THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN.

BOOK III.

ART AND LITERATURE.

1.

ART IN ROME AND IN THE EMPIRE.



NOWHERE in art, certain forms of architecture alone excepted, does the Roman show himself creative and original: that was not his nature nor his gift. But when he became lord of the nations and saw the world at his feet and the world's wealth pouring into his treasuries, he grew a great patron of art, and set painters, sculptors, and architects to work until a revived artistic life sprang up in all the provinces of the empire, a life of the abundance and extent of which we can scarcely form a conception. But the Roman did not devote himself personally to art. By this time the Greek had run through all its stages, and developed all its styles, as far as lay in his sphere;

and all these he placed at the disposal of the eager Roman ; furnished him technical knowledge and dexterity, head and hand. So it was Greek artists that worked to Roman orders, Greek art that built their temples, palaces, and villas, and adorned their squares and streets, throughout the whole empire, from the Thames to the Euphrates, from the Rhine and the Danube to Mauritania. As a single form of culture, the Graeco-Roman, pervaded the provinces of the empire, so it knew but a single style of art, the Greek—or we may call it, too, Graeco-Roman, for the latter people, with their taste for magnificence, power, and grandeur, gave it in many ways the stamp of their personality.

Thus there is not much to be said of any regular and successive development of art in Rome, as there is of Greek art ; none of those buds and germs that mature to flower and fruit. Whatever of these the most ancient times may have possessed, have come to our knowledge in very meagre examples ; yet, meagre as they are, they have an air of being borrowed from others.

Contemporary with the earliest Roman history we find the civilization of the Etruscans, a people which, either in war or peace, had constant relations with Rome and the surrounding Italian peoples, until it was absorbed in the expanding growth of Rome. These Etruscans, driven out to sea, arriving in Italy as barbarians, and busied in commerce and piracy, brought the impulses of their civilization from far lands, from Cyprus, Phoinikia, Carthage, Ionia, and Greece. Thus at the outset various elements were mingled in Etruscan civilization and Etruscan art, and contended for the mastery ; the Asiatic or Phoinikian element first preponderating, until the incomparable superiority of Greece surpassed and obliterated it. But Etruscan art never even approached the height and perfection of the Greek. All that the numerous graves have revealed to us of paintings, sculpture, ornaments and utensils, so far as they are Etruscan work, even the latest, stand far below the workmanship of Greece. The painting is crude and imperfect, and crude in the colouring ; the sculptures and portrait-figures of terra cotta are defective in form, staring and even frightful in expression. It seems as if Etruscan art had intentionally adhered to the designs of an undeveloped stage, for even those works which Greece sent into Etruria, for instance the vessels of pottery, have an archaic character as if made to suit the Etruscan taste.

Like the Etruscan was the art of the Italian peoples dwelling around Rome, such as the Sabellian races and the Latin cities ; and the oldest works of art in Rome of which we have any mention doubtless had a similar character. At first, we are told, the Romans had no temples and no images of the gods, but received both from Etruria. It was Etruscan architects that built them their first temples ; and the Roman temple long preserved the Etruscan plan, very different from the Greek. Etruscans constructed the Cloaca Maxima and the temple of Jupiter in the capitol ; and Tarquinius Priscus employed a Veientine artist, named Volcanius, to make a *quadriga* (chariot with four horses) of baked and painted clay to ornament its pediment, and a statue of Jupiter, also of clay, for the interior. But immediately after this, first under Servius Tullius, and then in the early days of the republic, we find mention of Greek sculptors furnishing statues for the temples of Rome. Not long after, in the middle of the fifth century B. C., it became a custom in Rome to erect statues in public places to honoured citizens ; a custom which almost grew to an abuse, after wars had brought Rome into near relations with the Greek cities of Lower Italy and Sicily. From this time the stream of Greek art was never checked ; but it poured in in fuller floods when Roman armies had crossed the Adriatic, Roman generals had ruled Hellas, and Greece itself, the islands, Macedonia, and Asia Minor had become Roman provinces. These were all welcome finds to the



LAOKOÖN.

ART IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

new Roman artistic passion; and statues, paintings, and other works of art were carried off by hundreds and thousands to Rome, adorning the triumphs with long trains of spoils that took whole days to enter the gate, and crowded temples, forums, and courts with a new population. But when Rome became the capital of the world, the artists themselves followed, and Rome became also the centre of artistic activity and the chief city of the world for collections and for production.

When this took place, in the second century *B. C.*, Greek art had just reached its last stages; or it were better to say, if the height of the classic period could not be surpassed, it had made the only yet untrodden regions of art its own. In sculpture there arose two young schools full of vitality, those of Rhodes and Pergamon, and the ancient school of Athens seemed to be renewing its youth.

In Rhodes, the wealthy commercial city, which in Roman times was specially favoured and cherished, art as well as science made great progress. It was here that the *Laokoön* was produced, that masterpiece of pathetic representation and technical skill; and that group in violent action which now bears the name of the *Farnese Bull*. There were said to be in Rhodes three thousand statues, and a hundred colossal figures, most famous of which was the colossus of the Sun-god, standing at the entrance of the harbour, and visible far out to sea, a beacon to mariners.

Pergamon also had been made by the Attalids, a family sprung from the *Diadochoi*, an abode of Greek art and science, rivalling *Alexandreia* in the latter and Athens in the former. Down to recent times not much was known of this school of art. What had been preserved were solitary figures, votive gifts or portions of those monuments which King Attalos erected at Athens and Pergamon to commemorate his victory over the Gauls. These figures represent Gallic warriors, falling, dying, or slaying themselves, and exhibit admirably the extraordi-



GAUL KILLING HIS WIFE AND HIMSELF.
School of Pergamon.

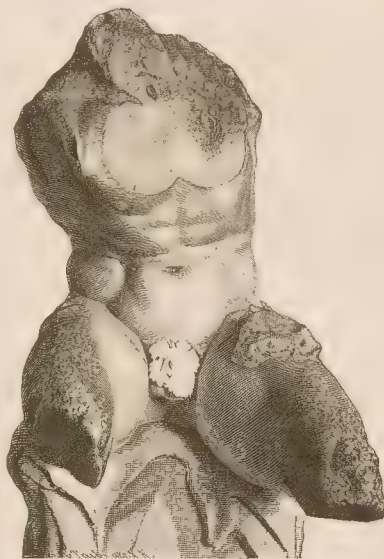
nary realistic power of this school. They are real Gauls, in both form and feature, in the hair and even the skin; not mere figures meant to stand for Gauls.

But we are now in a position to form a better judgment of the merits and characteristics of this school. Quite recently a new and important discovery has been added to those which in late years have aroused so much interest in Troy, Mykenai, and Olympia. As the name of Schliemann is associated with the two former, and that of Ernst Curtius with Olympia, so the sculptures of Pergamon will perpetuate the names of Humann and Conze. These sculptures, which are now being transported in a multitude of fragments to Berlin, are all relics of the time of the Attalids, representing a combat of gods with giants and Titans, with monsters of the deep and winged daemons of the air, in figures larger than life; and they prove that the Pergamenian sculptors were artists of the first rank, rich in invention, and endowed with an almost Asiatic imagination, while in the technique of their art they were unsurpassed. It is a new side of Greek plastic art that is thus brought to our view.

At the same time, as mentioned above, the school of Athens had renewed its youth, and produced in Roman times, down to the period of Augustus,

Glykon, was the sculptor of another Herakles, the so-called Hercules Farnese in Naples, who is represented resting his ponderous strength on his club. A third Athenian of this epoch, Kleomenes, the son of Apollodoros, produced the Medicean Venus, which once was considered the marvel of art, the most beautiful female form ever produced. Now, however, she is dethroned: she has had to give place to the Venus of Melos, to whom the prize of beauty rightfully belongs; and assuredly she could never have rivalled the loveliness of the Aphrodites of Praxiteles. Yet for all this the Venus de' Medici is a work which in its conscious beauty and charm, in its delicately proportioned limbs and lissome grace, may well excite our admiration when nobler works are not at hand to challenge comparison.

To the same epoch belong other celebrated works of Greek art, as the Borghese Boxer, a pugilist parrying a blow, whose tense muscles show a masterly knowledge of anatomy; the Belvedere Apollo, haughty in the consciousness of victory, as with the aegis in his left hand



TORSO OF HERAKLES IN THE BELVEDERE.

works which were held as the masterpieces of sculpture, until those of Pheidias on the Parthenon were brought to London. In this period it was that the Athenian Apollonios produced the colossal figure of Herakles seated on a rock and resting from his labours. We have only the torso—the famous torso of the Belvedere—but we see here the mighty shoulders, the massy volume of muscles, that could relieve Atlas of the weight of the heavens. Another Athenian, Gly-



GROUP FROM THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED SCULPTURES AT PERGAMON.

he makes the assailants of his sanctuary quail; his sister, in the Louvre, the so-called Diana of Versailles, with the stag at her side; or the sleeping Ariadne. The Romans did no harm to Greek art. Even if they lacked a thorough understanding of it, and their preference was rather for superficial qualities, and was swayed by fashion and dilettantism, still they were filled with a certain enthusiasm which set art in activity.

Under the emperors the originality of creation was lost, so far as plastic art moved in the circles of Greek ideas and modes of presentation; its main employment was in copying the ancient masterpieces, and this was done with admirable perfection as late as the time of Hadrian. But in addition to this the Romans set new tasks to sculpture, and those of a peculiarly Roman character. In a certain sense the portraits belong to these, which were wrought in statues and busts to an incomparably greater extent than had been the case in Greece; and at the same time in a much more realistic style, in accordance with Roman taste. It was not the Roman style to idealize, and least of all, subjects taken immediately from nature. This applies even more strongly to the historical relief than to the portrait.

From a very early time the Roman loved to exhibit his exploits in pictorial representation to the gaze of the public. As he now could command the resources of Greek plastic art and the innumerable multitude of artists, it was a natural idea to



VENUS DE' MEDICI.

everything like pictorial perspective; was sparing of his figures, and sought to bring out each of these clearly and definitely. The Roman, on the other hand, gave the perspective, the whole historic surrounding, mountains, rivers, and fortresses, crowding the figures above and behind each other as the scene was in reality, not as the laws of art require.

By violating in this manner its proper laws, Roman art approached a step nearer to its fall, and we can trace the stages of its decline in these monuments. Hadrian, the dilettante and patron of art, tried to bring about a renaissance, but this scarcely went beyond careful copies, or lost itself in affected archaisms. Almost the only original figure that it produced was the fair and melancholy form of his favourite, the young Antinoös. The dangers which threatened the empire from the days of Marcus Aurelius, and the disasters which followed, were unfavourable to the slow, calm work of the sculptor. Constantine even plundered the monuments of his predecessors to enrich his own arch. In the interval art had grown more

make these representations of an enduring character, and by their execution in marble to preserve them forever living in the sight and memories of men. Thence came these reliefs, peopled with figures, which cover the triumphal columns or arches of the emperors, as we now see in the remaining monuments at Rome, on the arches of Titus, Septimus Severus, and Constantine, and the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, where the reliefs may be counted by hundreds, and the separate figures by thousands, all faithfully copied from reality.

In this realistic and genuinely Roman form of representation the Greek principle of art in relief was violated. The Greek rejected

ROME.

hasty, more negligent, and less firm in its forms, for the defects of which they thought to compensate by the chromatic effect of coloured marbles. The portrait-busts have so little individuality that they scarcely pretend to be likenesses. On the numerous sarcophagi, the last kind of sculpture belonging to this epoch, we may see, step by step, how art descends to mere handiwork, and with this final degradation its history closes. In Byzantium there was no taste for plastic art as there was for painting and surface-decoration.

This latter, the art of painting, was probably more suited to the taste and character of the Romans than sculpture. At least, among the recorded painters we find a greater proportion of genuine Roman names, and the renowned and noble race of the Fabii, at a comparatively early time (about 300 B. C.) produced one painter who on this account received the agnomen of *Pictor*. Fabius Pictor painted temples and frescoes on a large scale,



SLEEPING ARIADNE.

but his art could scarcely have differed from that of the Greeks, from whom he learned it. At that time the Etruscan painting was strongly influenced by the Greek; and in Rome the conditions were the same as in sculpture. Roman painting was following Greek paths before Hellas was changed into Achaia; and when with the sculptures the paintings also of the Greek masters were transported to Rome, Roman painting became altogether Greek. The only remains of an original Roman or Italian style was a certain taste for crude and rather coarse popular subjects, and figures from low life, to which indeed Greek art was not altogether a stranger.

At the time when Greek painting, by means of the Roman empire, had been diffused over the world, it had already in its native home passed through all its stages and styles, and had mastered every branch of the art as now practised. Starting with mythologic subjects, it next illustrated history, and passed to landscape and still-life. The drawing was correct, modelling and colour, light and shade, were faithfully studied from nature; linear and aerial perspective were understood; the colour was managed with a view to particular effects; figures were grouped and dramatic character given to the action, and passions and emotions expressed

ART IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

in the countenance and the gesture. If anything was lacking, it was the representation of remarkable features of nature, splendid effects of light, grandiose views, such as modern landscape painting delights in; but this was a want of sensibility rather than of power.

As sculpture, so also Greek painting placed all her resources at the disposal of the Romans. It seemed impossible to produce anything novel, or better than what had already been done, nor was any advance made. And yet a change took place, though essentially only an external change, in the painting of Rome and the empire. In Hellas panel-painting kept its place by the side of fresco: the famous paintings of Apelles and his immediate predecessors were all works on panel. To decorate habitations with fresco did not become a general custom until after the time of Alexander. But under the Romans fresco painting quite superseded the other; the first and especial task of the painter was to decorate the house; and it became so universal that no house, no room, not even those of the slaves, was without it.

The result is that scarcely any pictures on panel of Greek or Graeco-Roman art have come down to us. One or two paintings on marble tablets found at Herculaneum, which in their present condition are scarcely more than outlines, and are, moreover, the work of an Athenian artist, are the principal specimens. The result for art itself was that the thoroughness and perfection of work which panel-painting requires, and which was exhibited in the highest degree by Greek artists, fell into neglect. In fresco-painting the hand grew used to rapidity and hastily-caught effects, and the artist sank to a mere decorator. No class of decorative painters arose, as at the present day, in contradistinction from painters of high art; but all painting took this character, and carried with it all talents, which however did not prevent certain painters of exceptional genius from producing works of high art, in both historical subjects and in portraits. There were still celebrated portrait painters at the close of the republic, one of whom, a woman of the name of Iaia, was distinguished for her beautiful female portraits. From the time of the empire, however, the works are for the most part anonymous. But there is no lack of talent in this decorative painting. On the contrary, while much of it is hasty and sketchy, much also crude, insignificant, and common, still it glows with life and talent, with fancy and a feeling for beauty. Grace of lines, richness of invention, fertility in subjects, charming composition, beauty and harmony of colour,—all are admirable, and will ever delight all who have an eye and a feeling for beauty.

Happily for us, much of this charming decoration has been preserved. Not only the buried cities Herculaneum and Pompeii have given us much of their art and have still much to give; Rome itself, to say nothing of numerous other cities of the empire, has been making contri-



BORGHESE BOXER.

ROME.

butions to the world's store since the days of Rafaele, thanks to the good fortune which in all the changes of the ancient city has still spared these precious relics, and to the investigations conducted by science and made possible by liberality. Many of these discoveries are of especial interest, as, for instance, the series of landscapes from the *Odyssey*, found at the Esquiline; or because many of them, belonging to the last times of the Republic and the Empire, are older than those of Pompeii, and so allow a sort of history, a process of development, to



FORUM AND COLUMN OF TRAJAN.

be traced in them. For they have their history, a history contained within the first century, down to that memorable eruption of Vesuvius in the year 79 A. D., though their subjects and style were all foreshadowed in the Greek painting of the period of the Diadochoi.

According to Vitruvius, this wall-decoration began with the imitation of coloured incrustations of marble or other ornamental stones, which to a certain extent followed the arrangement of the structure. The idea naturally suggested itself to fill in the intervening spaces and separate fields with painting, not necessarily with proper pictures, such as representations of mythological or historical subjects, but with designs which served at the same time to give

ART IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

the effect of openness and extent of space, such as perspectives of architecture, landscapes, scenes upon the stage, or gardens. In the third stage of this art, full play was allowed to fancy, which passed from imitations of reality, though imaginary, to what was purely visionary, to the impossible, to a dream-like display of boundless and unfettered invention.

But we may doubt if all these steps were taken chronologically in this order, notwithstanding that this view is confirmed by an account given by Pliny of the inventions or novel styles of the painter *Ludius*—if that be the correct reading of the name. It was *Ludius*, he says, who in the time of the emperor Augustus first painted walls with gracefully-conceived



SCENE FROM HADRIAN'S VILLA NEAR TIVOLI.

landscapes, containing numerous figures, with villas and gardens, temples, shrines and colonnades, monuments and fountains, woods and groves, lakes, rivers, bays, coasts, and bold mountain-forms. All these he peopled with mariners, fishermen, travellers on foot, in vehicles, on asses, with hunters, bird-catchers, vintagers, with scenes and groups in which a certain popular humour was not wanting.

This charming decoration preceded that fantastic architecture of which we have spoken, certainly in the conception, and very probably also in time. But it was not superseded by its successor; a new style was added, but the old remained. Thus in Pompeii, whose thousands of paintings all belong to the period of about fifteen years between the earthquake and the eruption of Vesuvius, we find all that Vitruvius mentions as belonging to separate stages of the art existing simultaneously; simple architectural designs, figures, landscape scenery, and the fantastic architecture of which we have already given an idea in our representation of a Pompeian house.

ROME.

The pictures proper rarely represent historic subjects, as in the famous mosaic of the battle of Issos. In both form and subject they remain true to their decorative character; in the form, as the figures are represented as floating in the air, or lightly and gracefully framed in with coloured lines only; in the subject, as they represent light and gay scenes. Landscapes are bright with sunshine; gardens, sparkling with fountains, and gay with flowers, have a bright blue sky above; the swelling sails of the ships show that they are speeding merrily on their way. The gods and heroes here play the same prominent part as in poetry and legend, but those of a more joyous character are preferred. Venus and Cupid, Beauty and Love, give the fundamental tone; little *amoretti* flutter through the whole of this art. In the figures of mortals also, all that is serious and sad is avoided. In the "house of the poet" a wedding is represented, in the style of that which the Roman painting called "the Aldobrandini wedding" shows us gravely and calmly depicted. Here a mother is decking her daughter for the bridal; girls are seen, some flirting, others playing music; a poetess, with her tablets in her hand, presses the stylus thoughtfully against her lips. Other pictures show the pleasures of the table; a merry party carousing, or a cosy tête-à-tête, and everything upon the board painted with the most appetizing reality, juicy fruits, choice fish, game and poultry, with flowers, garlands, and golden beakers. At times, in true Italian taste, we find scenes from the life of the populace, gladiators and players, handicraftsmen and tradesmen, fullers, fish-mongers, porters, wagoners, innkeepers, with all their doings and traffic.

Yet all this is preserved from vulgarity by the artist's hand, that gives suggestions of beauty in its slightest designs. Everything of this kind Hellenic art had transfigured and idealized in the period just preceding its decline. In the catacombs, to which we must turn for the history of Graeco-Roman art for the two centuries before miniature-painting was introduced, we find the influence of another spirit. Hellenic joyousness gives way to Christian seriousness; as the artistic skill declines, and eye and hand lose the feeling of beauty, Christian austerity and severity bring Byzantine stiffness into form, outline, and expression. Byzantium long practised painting, but it was a style in direct contrast to the free and joyous art of the classic time.

Architecture with the Romans, as remarked before, pursued a more independent course, though this independence, it is true, lay rather in the technical than the proper artistic field. As, however, in no art does grandeur of form depend more upon the technique than in architecture, so Roman architecture succeeded not only in making itself an independent place in the history of this art, and in creating a style, but also in exercising a most important influence on its subsequent development.

Etruscan artists built the first temple in Rome, and they built it on the Etruscan plan, that is, with an ample cella and an open portico in front of it, both differing in proportion from the Greek temple, which was longer than it was wide. This design was not merely an imitation of the Etruscan style; it was also rendered necessary by the ceremonies of the augurs, who stood in the portico while making their observations of the heavens. This arrangement therefore remained an essential feature of the Roman temple, even when Greek influence became predominant; the square building changed to an oblong, and the Roman erected for his gods, now completely identified with those of Greece, temples of thoroughly Greek design, even to the noble *peripteros*, or central mass surrounded by columns; but in all forms, even in the circular temple, the capacious cella with the deep, pillared portico remained essential features.

Though the Roman held fast to this construction, he abandoned at an early date an-

ART IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

other Etruscan feature, the arrangement and style of the columns. The Tuscan or Etruscan order, partly derived from a wooden architecture, and partly either in direct imitation, or under the influence of the old Doric style, had columns with capitals reminding one of the Doric order, but placed much further apart. This form and arrangement the Roman abandoned, and in their stead followed the Greek examples, but from these he selected with preference a style which in Greece had never arisen to an independent order—the Corinthian capital. The more luxuriant design of this capital, with its rich crown of acanthus leaves, pleased the Roman, who delighted in lavish decoration, better than the simple Doric, or the chaste and noble Ionic. But he was not satisfied with this design as the Greeks had left it, but added further ornament between the leaves, and by letting Ionic volutes spring from among the foliage at the four corners



ANTINOÛS.

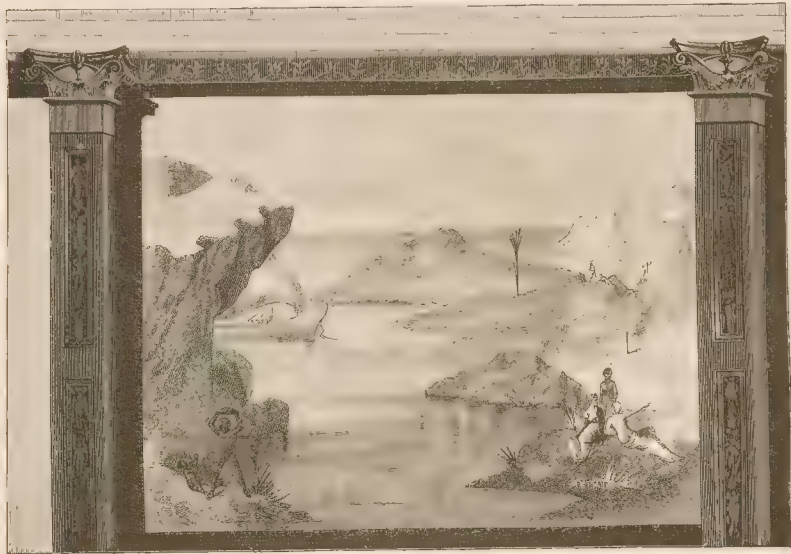
of the square, he made the Composite capital. In this way a new order, the Roman, arose, which was extensively used throughout the empire.

But this purely artistic modification of the Greek style was far from having the importance of those changes which grew out of a new plan of construction. We refer here to the introduction of the vault, which made it possible to spring a superstructure over wide spaces, and thus accomplish tasks which hitherto had been impossible for architecture.

The arch and the vault were not inventions of the Romans, but these employed them so extensively and in such manifold ways, and regarded them as so essential and indispensable in architecture that they alone are entitled to the praise of this great advance. The Etruscans were acquainted with the arch, wherever they may have obtained it; and it was Etruscan builders who built the first vault in Rome, the Cloaca Maxima, that immense sewer which drained the hollow between the hills, and subsists to this day. It was a simple barrel-vault,

ROME.

which here answered the purpose, and which may be used to roof over even larger spaces ; but on account of its weight and the necessary massiveness of the walls when reinforced to bear it, was not suitable for wide spans. To meet these requirements they devised the groined vault, which is simply two barrel-vaults of equal height intersecting each other at right angles, thus allowing the whole weight to be borne by four pillars at the angles, and so rendering the side-walls unnecessary. In this way not only is lightness attained with economy of material, but the space thus left open could be widened at pleasure. To these barrel-vaults and groined vaults the Romans added a third, the cupola, or vaulting-in of a circular space with narrowing rings of masonry, closed by a key-stone at the top. At what times each of these



SCENE FROM THE ODYSSEY-LANDSCAPES IN THE VATICAN.

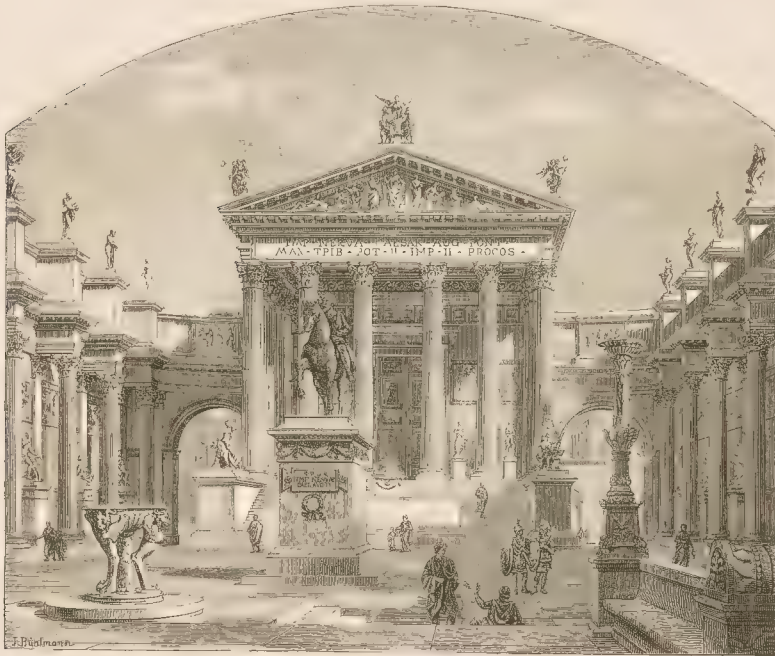
important steps was first taken, we can not certainly say ; but at the close of the republic all these, as well as the Corintho-Roman order, were in use.

The application and development of the vault enabled the Roman to solve a multitude of problems, and his love of grandiose works and his masterful energy allowed no difficulty to deter him. The Roman was eminently a builder, and on the grandest scale ; and in this province he did not leave the execution to the Greeks, but was himself artist, architect and engineer.

The Cloaca Maxima was succeeded by a whole system of arched drains which carried off the sewage of the city to the Tiber ; a system which, like the great Cloaca, is in full use at the present time. But as vaulted canals freed the city of foul water, and the fever it would have produced, so vaulted aqueducts supplied the city with the pure water of the mountains taken directly from its source. To these no mountain, no ravine, no river,

ART IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

offered any impediment; leagues of distance were nothing. The mountain was pierced, the stream bridged, the ravine or valley spanned with systems of bold arches, superimposed upon each other in two or even three tiers. The aqueduct of the Anio at one point reached a height of 109 feet; that of Nemausus, now the Pont du Gard near Nîmes in the south of France, nearly twice that height. Flowing thus in covered or vaulted chan-



TEMPLE OF PALLAS
Roman architecture. Restoration.

nels, sometimes above, sometimes beneath the earth, the water gushed forth in Rome with the coolness and force of a mountain stream, even the most elevated parts of the city being reached by the supply; and Rome's example was followed by all the cities of the empire.

Similar provisions were made for travel. Viaducts spanned ravines, and piers and arches crossed the broadest and swiftest rivers, without obstructing navigation. Of these works more barbarous times have either allowed the most to perish, or intentionally destroyed them; but enough remains to show what was done. The piers are still standing of the bridge which Trajan threw across the Danube in Moesia. But the best example of a Roman bridge Rome herself still possesses in the Ponte Sant' Angelo, which Hadrian built over the Tiber to his mausoleum.

The vault-construction, when applied to city gates, allowed them to combine the important qualities of easy passage and strong defence. The Roman gates—many of which are still

ROME.

standing, such as the Porta Nigra at Trevs, the imperial city of late times—had usually a double or triple arched passage, over which arose a massive and imposing superstructure flanked by towers, and presenting quite a monumental appearance. Another kind of gates was purely monumental in design, the triumphal arch, of which three, those of Titus, Septimus Severus, and Constantine, are still standing in Rome. Similar arches, of merely temporary construction, had formerly been thrown over the Sacred Way, along which the triumphal procession passed; but a later time built these to be enduring monuments of the victory and the triumph. The arch had either a single passage-way, as in that of Titus, or a triple one, as in the two others, with massive pillars of marble against the piers, supporting an entablature, and a lofty *attica* above bearing the inscription and the reliefs. These reliefs, which in the



CORINTHIAN AND COMPOSITE CAPITALS.

arch of Titus are also placed on the ceiling of the vault, represented the achievements of the hero.

The groined arch also admitted of other applications not less in keeping with the tastes and character of the Roman people. We may refer, in passing, to the vaulted substructures under the seats of the theatres, which can still be seen in that magnificent specimen of an amphitheatre, the Colosseum. But the Romans, in addition to their temples, needed for public life vaulted spaces for the sessions of the senate and the various colleges and magistracies; for courts, for places of public resort and traffic. It is true that many temples were used for these purposes, as for instance the senate often held its sessions in the temple of Concord, where Cicero delivered his fourth oration against Catiline. But there were also special buildings for these purposes, the *curiae*, and at a later date the basilicas, after Cato (184 B. C.) had erected in Rome the Basilica Porcia, from the design, it would seem, of the court in Athens presided over by the Archon Basileus. Concerning the structure of both *curiae* and basilicas there are many points in doubt, the solution of which is rendered more difficult by the diversities due to the different purposes for which they were intended and the numbers they were meant to accommodate. But whether with one nave, two, three, or even five, they were all spacious halls for whose great span of roof the groined vault was peculiarly adapted. And it is evident that the covering-in of such vast areas as the *thermae* required, not only for the great swimming-bath, but for the other halls of exercise or recreation, would have been impossible but for this architectural device.

But the crown of all these structural achievements of the Romans was the dome, of which we still have one of the earliest, and at the same time one of the boldest and most noble examples in the Pantheon at Rome, now the Church of All Martyrs, but originally, as its name implies, a temple of all the gods. Built by Marcus Agrippa, the victorious general and faithful friend of Augustus, and completed in the year 25 B. C., it formed a part of those *thermae* which Agrippa erected for the use of the Roman people, and presented to them at his death. As a temple it has, in Roman style, an open portico borne by columns, so placed as to divide it into three naves. This portico itself is a noble structure, but in size and height is so far exceeded by the vast domed cella, that it seems only a well-proportioned entrance. Upon a circular foundation the walls rise in cylindrical form, with a clear internal diameter of more than forty-one metres, and with a thickness of nearly six metres; externally plain, and almost devoid of ornament, though divided by string-courses into three zones or storeys. Inside were eight wide and lofty recesses or niches, alternately semi-circular and square, considered individually. But if we wish to do justice to Roman architecture and form a due conception of its achievements and its creative activity, we must take a more general view. Not in Rome alone, but in all Roman cities, large and imposing buildings were numerous, and their effect was heightened by juxtaposition, by grouping, by placing them around the public squares. Fine opportunities for happy arrangement were afforded by the forums: and when the forum was in a rather low situation, and lofty palaces, temples, and other public buildings towered above it from the neighbouring heights, the effect must have been most imposing. So it was in Rome, where the Forum lay in the long narrowing valley running in a southeasterly direction from the foot of the Capitoline hill. Any one approaching it from the southeast, and ascending the *Via Sacra* toward the Capitol, saw on the hills on either side nothing but monuments and noble buildings, memorials of the history and the greatness of Rome. On the left he first passed the Atrium of Vesta, at the foot of the Palatine, then the temple of Castor and Pollux, then traversed the long Basilica



MOUTH OF THE CLOACA MAXIMA AT THE TIBER.

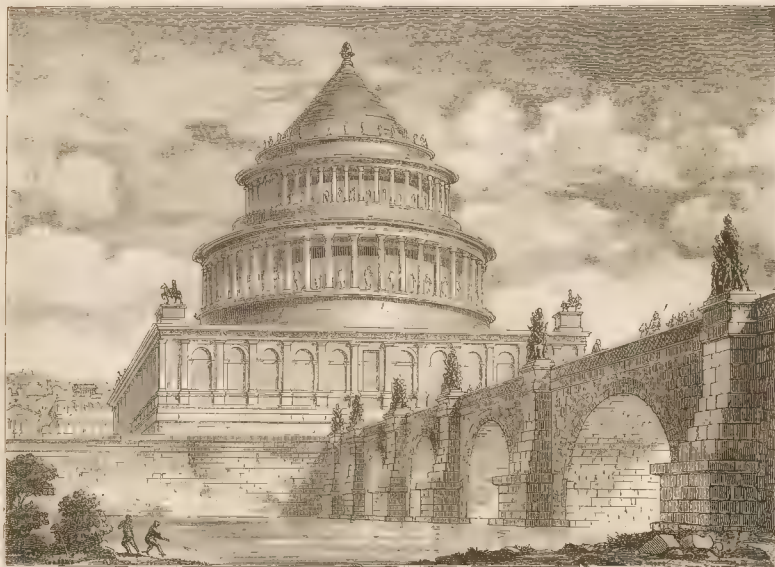
with four columns at the front of each. Above all soars the splendid dome, to a height equalling the diameter of the cella, and adorned with deep panellings over its whole interior surface. The building has suffered restorations and alterations; the gods have been expelled to make room for the saints; but still it remains a classic monument, an evidence of antique grandeur, of the bold and mighty Roman spirit.

Such were Roman buildings,

But if we wish to do justice to Roman architecture and form a due conception of its achievements and its creative activity, we must take a more general view. Not in Rome alone, but in all Roman cities, large and imposing buildings were numerous, and their effect was heightened by juxtaposition, by grouping, by placing them around the public squares. Fine opportunities for happy arrangement were afforded by the forums: and when the forum was in a rather low situation, and lofty palaces, temples, and other public buildings towered above it from the neighbouring heights, the effect must have been most imposing. So it was in Rome, where the Forum lay in the long narrowing valley running in a southeasterly direction from the foot of the Capitoline hill. Any one approaching it from the southeast, and ascending the *Via Sacra* toward the Capitol, saw on the hills on either side nothing but monuments and noble buildings, memorials of the history and the greatness of Rome. On the left he first passed the Atrium of Vesta, at the foot of the Palatine, then the temple of Castor and Pollux, then traversed the long Basilica

ROME.

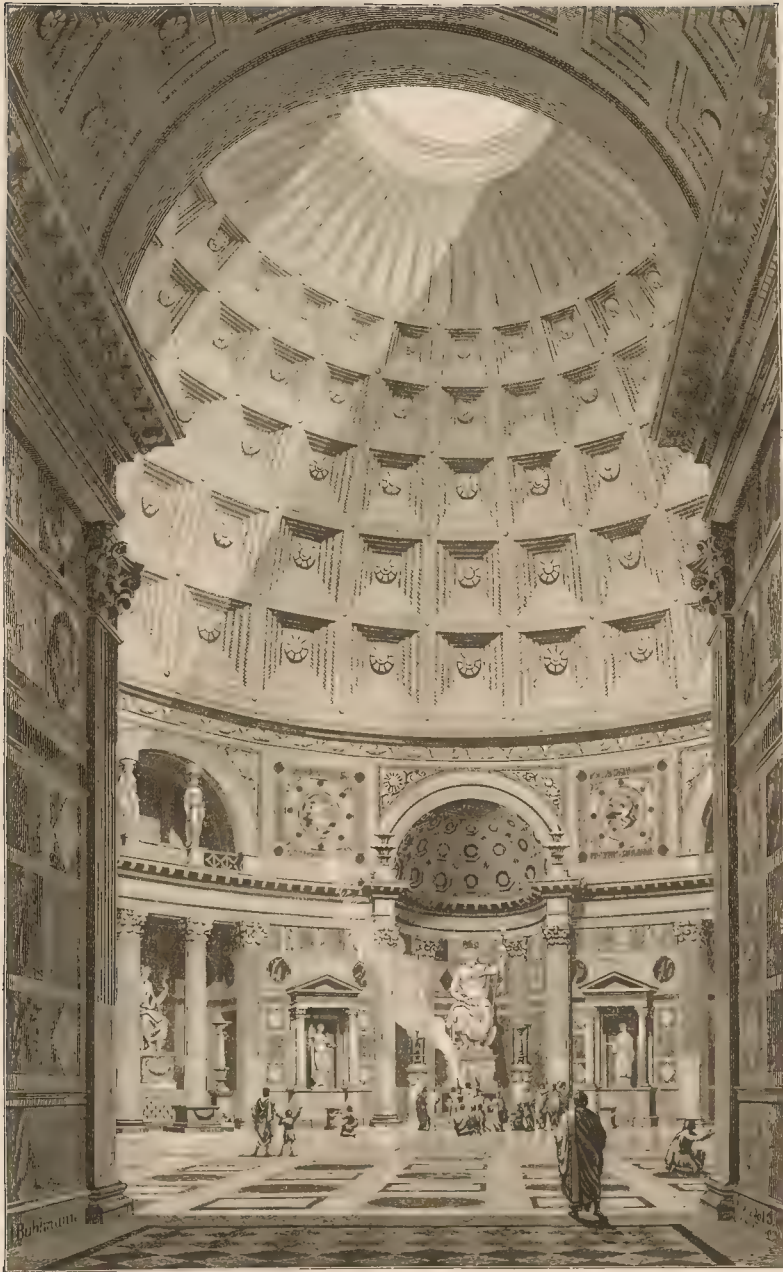
Julia to the temple of Saturn, and after leaving behind a range of curiae and basilicas which now, buried under rows of modern houses, are awaiting their scientific resurrection, he stood before the buildings at the foot of the depression between the Capitoline summits, the portico of the *Dii Consentes*, the temple of Vespasian and that of Concord, over which again towered the buildings of the Capitol, and above all the Tabularium, the State-paper office, with its massive substructure. It was a noble and impressive prospect that a stranger had before him, at the entrance of this street; and in our view of the forum the artist has endeavoured to



MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN, NOW THE CASTLE OF SAINT ANGELO.
Restoration.

reproduce it. And what now remains of all this splendour? A waste field, a few ruins, piles of rubbish and fragments, covering up precious relics which have to be disinterred from a depth of from twenty to thirty feet. This is the present.

But to produce this stately magnificence of the antique world, another spirit was needed than that which now prevails. When the empire had given peace to all these lands, the municipalities all vied with each other in adorning their cities with noble works for beauty and for use. In this the emperors took the lead; even the worst—such as Claudius, Nero, Domitian and Caracalla—were passionate builders; and the magistrates and private citizens followed the example. There still lived in the men of antiquity the insatiable ambition, the love of fame, the desire to distinguish themselves and to transmit their memory to posterity. In times when military renown fell only to the emperor or a few leading generals, private ambition was best gratified by erecting noble buildings. For this reason the cities chose wealthy



INTERIOR OF THE PANTHEON.

ART IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

fellow-citizens, or rich Roman nobles as their patrons, and these it was chiefly who embellished the city with aqueducts, canals, theatres, forums, basilicas, and temples, on which they lavished millions, obtaining in return the perpetuation of their memory to posterity, and the honour of a statue.

Our rare and pitiful bits of statuary or monuments give not the faintest conception of the scale on which monuments were erected to public or private persons, or of the hosts of statues which existed in the days of the Empire. Those of the gods, in temples, or in public buildings or places, were but a small fraction of the whole. When a new emperor ascended the throne, his portraits were scattered with incredible celerity throughout the Empire, and in



ARCH OF TITUS.

a few months columns or equestrian statues to his honour arose in all the cities ; often many in a single city. The auditorium of the theatre at Athens had no less than thirteen statues of the emperor Hadrian. When a bad emperor fell, all his statues fell also, to make room for those of his successor. And as it was with the emperors so was it with the governors of the provinces ; whether they were loved or feared, in either case it was enough to cause their statues of marble, bronze, or even of silver gilt, to spring up in the public places. So with magistrates of municipalities who had in any way deserved well of their townsmen, and even private persons, when the city wished to express gratitude for favours past or establish a claim for those to come. If a Roman of rank rendered a provincial city any service with the government, the honour of a monument was his reward. A city frequently voted this honour to some man of distinction, trusting that he would defray the cost ; and private persons often set up their own statues, and that not only in the dwelling or the villa, but in public places ; and in this latter case, of course, the merit might only exist in the opinion of the erector. Actors, charioteers, gladiators, bestiarii, were honoured with statues by their admirers ; and even

ROME.

schoolmasters, like Horace's severe Orbilius. In a provincial city a statue was erected to a boy of thirteen, because he had passed a creditable examination in poetry at school. In Brixia, the praetor having lost a little boy of six, the authorities erected a gilt equestrian statue in his honour to comfort the bereaved father.

So, as regards quantity of production at least, there was an artistic life in the Roman empire such as the world, except in a few localities, never knew before or since. Much of all this was ostentation, and the divine fire that had glowed in the soul of Pheidias was extinguished; but for all this, art was a universal need of the people, and not this or that branch alone, but all art, from the highest to the lowest, from the temple to the kitchen-lamp. Architecture, sculpture, painting, were neither more nor less in demand than the craft of the goldsmith, the arts of working in glass, clay, ivory, bronze, and wood. Thus there were artists everywhere, and they travelled from land to land in troops, seeking and finding work; while many had permanent abodes. There were ateliers beside the temples, for the religious demand; at the marble-quarries, for architectural ornaments, figures, or sarcophagi; everywhere, studios and artists who worked to order, or kept finished or half-finished works on hand for sale.

The quantity of works of art which the imperial time produced is beyond all computation or conjecture. In the fourth century Rome, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, had a second population in marble and bronze; a better population really than the first, which was not able to defend it. Then followed the migrations of peoples, the destruction of cities, the plundering of Rome, and the annihilation of culture. Ruins, fragments, rubbish and decay are all that is left to us from the dissolution of the classic world of antiquity; but they have sufficed, after the lapse of a thousand years, to awaken genuine art to new life.





FROM THE GARDENS OF SALLUST.

2.

THE LITERATURE OF THE REPUBLIC.



VERY impulse and natural characteristic inclined the Roman to practical activity. Acuteness of understanding, lucidity of intellect, quick grasp of details, wit and energy were given to him, but he lacked the imaginative power, the glow of feeling, and the gift of creative invention which make the poet, and are not unnecessary to the prose writer. Thus we need not wonder that the Roman showed no more originality in literature than in art. All that art and intelligence in combination with high and varied culture could accomplish, Roman literature achieved; but a true and genuine poet, whose poesy springs from the depth of his soul, in obedience to an irresistible impulse, Rome never produced. There were songs in the earliest period of Rome's history, as in that of Greece, songs that were sung on religious occasions, at festivals and ceremonies, at banquets and at work; but among the bards who composed these no Homer arose. The Italic races had all a taste and talent for dramatic representation, and the mimic art was early practised and

ROME.

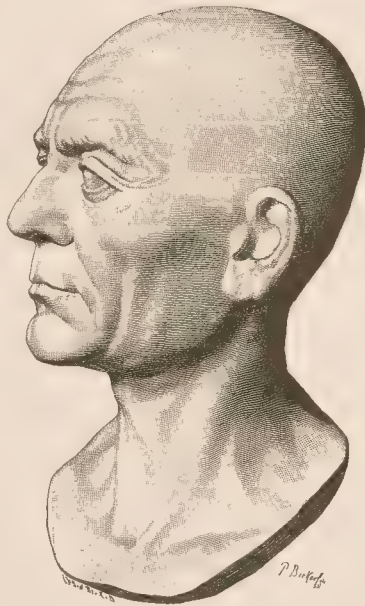
always a favourite at Rome; but they gave the world no Sophokles and no Aristophanes. All important Roman writers and poets became what they were by means of a foundation of Greek culture and in imitation of the Greeks. Hellas gave Rome first the art of writing, and then literature.

In primitive times, before the beginning of clear and authentic history, the Romans received writing from the Greeks of lower Italy; but centuries passed before literature arose, and this again was in consequence of a stimulus from Greece. Down to this time writing had been only used for official purposes; laws and announcements were painted up, or engraved on stone or bronze; and the priests recorded every year the names of the chief public officers, and probably also remarkable events, in dry annals, which would, however, have been inestimable data for history, had they not perished in the burning of Rome by the Gauls.

But this lapidary style was not history. A literature first arose when the Greek cities of southern Italy were subjugated, and the Romans thus brought into more frequent and closer contact with the

literary expression; theirs was too crude, rough, and undeveloped. And this was at the end of the first Punic war, when Rome reckoned from her foundation half a thousand years. The Romans eagerly seized their new acquisitions; it became the fashion in families of distinction to learn Greek, to speak and write it, and to study the Greek authors. The statesman needed the language for the duties of his office and station, and the private man studied it for intellectual pleasure and profit, and as a graceful accomplishment.

To this study followed a desire to emulate the Greeks, and create a national literature of their own. It was a patriotic impulse, but, as things were, could only be accomplished by imitating the Greeks and with the help of Greek literature; and thus the first works produced in the Roman tongue were either translations or imitations of the Greek; and this they set about with eagerness, and in all directions. Homer, the tragic and comic poets, were made



SCIPIO AFRICANUS THE ELDER.

Greeks. Rome began to grow great and powerful, and her nobles had become great and mighty lords. Wealth accumulated within her walls, luxury arose, and with it the need of higher cultivation, of intellectual pleasures and work. Then it was that the Romans became familiar with Greek life and manners, and with the achievements of the Greek intellect in literature and art, of all which they had nothing — not a poet, not an artist, not a writer, not even a language for

THE LITERATURE OF THE REPUBLIC.

accessible to the Roman people in their own language; historical narratives (the first of these, indeed, was written in Greek) endeavoured to rise above the chronicle-style of the *Fasti*, the annals of the priests, and to resemble Greek models.

But national, or at least patriotic, as this endeavour was, it did not fail to arouse the opposition of the old conservative Roman spirit. Men of this stamp associated the new culture, the new language and literature, and Hellenism altogether—which, doubtless, beside its great intellectual achievements, had its questionable features—with the growing corruption of morals. They preferred the old rude times, when there were no poets, no authors, no philosophers and no rhetoricians teaching how to defend an unjust as well as a just cause—they preferred this rude simplicity to the new intellectual life, in the idea that if the former could be retained, the ancient simplicity and purity of morals would be regained. At the head of these conservatives stood Cato, the austere censor, the personification of narrow rustic wisdom, who throughout a long life opposed himself like a dam to the new Rome that was arising. A brave soldier, covered with the scars of battle, a fearless foe of all baseness or what he accounted such, a good speaker full of mother-wit and intelligence of matters within his immediate ken, he had no vision for the distant and the future. He combated the spirit of innovation by acts, speech, and writing; but his very writings show him to be a son of the new era, and he could not deny that he had learned from the Greeks.

In this, the literary sphere, his resistance was altogether futile. The new Roman literature grew and expanded irresistibly with the diffusion of Greek culture. It could not, it is true, go far away from its Greek models, nor did it aim to do so, but the works that it produced were Latin works, and rendered inestimable service in forming the Latin tongue, and making it a clear, harmonious, and expressive vehicle for thought, whether in the form of prose or poetry. And those contributed the most to this who were most deeply imbued with Greek letters. It was the house of the Scipios, with their vast circle of friends, dependants, and kinsmen, the young Gracchi and the ladies of the house not excepted, who formed the central point of this movement, and drew about them all who were cherishing and contributing to the new literature. Deeply as this circle was saturated with Greek letters and cultivation, and high as was its admiration for the Greek writers, it was from it that the strongest impulse proceeded to develop and form the Latin tongue, to give it a firm scientific foundation, and to speak and write it in the highest purity. This influence operated through association and intercourse, through the writings of grammarians, poets, prose authors, and orators; and even at a later day the speeches of the younger Gracchus, whose style was formed in this school, were considered models of language. Thus it came to pass that the house of the Scipios, already illustrious by their deeds, gave completion to this first period of Roman literature.

Of all the poets and writers of this formative period, comedy alone excepted, as good as nothing has been preserved—*notices*, *dates*, and a few fragments are all that remain—so that it is difficult, or rather impossible, to form a satisfactory idea of the character and style. It was a Greek who made the beginning—a Tarentine, Livius Andronicus, who had taken his Roman name from his patron Livius Salinator, who had learned Latin at Rome, and desired to make the Romans acquainted with the master-works of his own people. Immediately after the first Punic war, he began to adapt Greek comedies and tragedies, and to translate the *Odyssey* into Saturnian verse. This was the versification of the old songs and responsive chants, without regular metre, but measured only by the rise and fall of the tone, and called Saturnian because everything of hoary antiquity and obscure origin was associated with the god Saturn, who was reported by tradition to have once ruled Italy. After Livius Andronicus,

ROME.

who flourished in the years 240-215 B. C., came Cneius Naevius, a Latin from Campania, and therefore apparently a Roman, or of blood nearly akin to the Romans. Like Andronicus, he attempted both the drama and the epic, but he did not content himself with Greek subjects, but in part at least selected Roman; founding one drama upon the bringing-up of Romulus and Remus, another upon the battle at Clastidium; while he took the first Punic war, then not long over, as the subject of an epos.

The epos was thus emancipated from its Greek model so far as the subject was concerned, but in form it returned to it, and never afterwards made an advance. Naevius, whose poetical works were composed in the years 219-202 B. C., wrote his *Punic War* in Saturnian



SARCOPHAGUS OF CORNELIUS LUCIUS SCIPIO IN THE VATICAN.

verses. Next came Quintus Ennius (240-169 B. C.) a contemporary of the second Punic war, a friend and associate of the Scipios, by origin, education, and association, fully imbued with Greek cultivation and letters, who wrote an epic poem on the history of Rome, in which the part containing the second Punic war was written in hexameters. To do this he had to compel the Latin language to adapt itself to firm rhythmical principles, instead of its former irregularity, and thus marked out the path for all his successors, and became "the father of the Roman epic." Undoubtedly he rendered service to the language also, which he handled with genuine Roman mastery and energy, even if somewhat roughly and coarsely. The way once traced, many followed his example; but none attained equal celebrity until Vergil arose.

Ennius also tried his hand at tragedy, but more successful than he was his nephew Pacuvius (220-154 B. C.), who was originally a painter, but, probably influenced by Ennius, employed his familiarity with the Greek language to make known to his countrymen the Greek tragic poets. In this he was more than a mere translator: he treated his originals with great freedom, and had the art of informing his adaptations with the genuine Roman spirit, expressed in vigorous language. Among many others who followed him in this direction

THE LITERATURE OF THE REPUBLIC.

was a younger friend of his, Lucius Attius (160-87 B. C.), whose activity extends into the following period, but who in style of working still belongs to the elder poets.

Both Pacuvius and Attius were highly esteemed, and their works continued long to be read, but they did not touch the hearts of the Romans, who had no genuine feeling for tragedy, or at least none for the lofty tragedy, with its presentation of noble characters, elevated thoughts, tender feelings or mighty passions, and irreconcilable antagonisms. While in Greece every heart beat in unison with these, in Rome it was only the nobles and others imbued with Greek culture that could feel themselves in sympathy with this tragedy or even understand it. Hence it flourished but for a brief time. In the period immediately following, the serious drama had become a mere literary work, written for the entertainment or practice of minds of talent and refinement, at which any one might try his hand without adding to his reputation or gaining any applause from the people. Thus the tragedy disappeared from the stage and remained only in the school; for the tragedies attributed to the philosopher Seneca are nothing but school-dramas, exercises in rhetoric.

With comedy it was otherwise. The Italic race had both the talent and the taste for comic representation; with clearness of intelligence they possessed also the gifts of wit and satire; and the common people had always delighted in farcical mimicry. Thus the Greek comedy did not come as a novelty, for there was already a kind of comic drama in vogue among the people. From very ancient times they had had the jocular dialogue, which was afterwards practised in Rome as an entertainment at the table; and in the country, at rustic festivals, it was a custom for young persons of the villages or rural peasantry, to entertain the crowd with improvised scenes of popular life, given in a broadly farcical or satirical fashion. As the *Atellanae*, so-called from the Osco-Latin town *Atella*, these farces became a distinct form of comedy, with certain fixed personages, which, like *Harlequin* in modern pantomime, were never absent, such as the soothsayer, the tax-gatherer, the doctor, workmen of various crafts, but especially the fuller, who was the favourite butt for all gibes. It was the rustic life of the country, or the life of the lower classes in the little towns that formed the staple of these pieces, and was represented in a broad burlesque style. In this form the *Atellanae* came to Rome, where, without changing their character beyond the necessary adaptation to local circumstances and personages, they became a distinct species of literature of a low kind, especially by the means of *Pomponius* and *Novius*, who composed their *Atellanae* in verse instead of improvising them.

By the time this was done, however, the Greek comedy had long been domiciled in Rome. The earliest writers had made attempts in this direction, and *Naevius*, who, as it seems, ventured on Aristophanic audacity, had to consult his personal security by leaving Rome. The Romans could not endure the keen personal and political criticisms of an Aristophanes, not having the free and independent spirit of the Athenians; so it was the third form of Athenian comedy, the comedy of manners and intrigue, which became the model for Roman imitation. Some of the poets kept closely to their Greek models, and retained the locality, names, and costumes of their originals, while others took Rome as the scene of their pieces and made the manners and incidents Roman. Thus came the division into *comœdia palliata* and *comœdia togata*, so called from the respective national costumes of the actors; but the difference was merely superficial.

Greater was the difference between the poets themselves, at least between the two who were the leaders in this art, *Titus Maccius Plautus* and *Publius Terentius Afer*. A considerable number of complete works of both these writers have come down to our time, in

ROME.

which respect they have been more fortunate than the other poets and writers of that period. There are twenty undoubted comedies of Plautus, which (with two others, since lost) Varro recognized as genuine, out of a hundred and thirty attributed to that poet; and of Terence, who died young, six pieces have been preserved.

Plautus, the earlier of the two, born 183 B. C., in the same year with Hannibal and Philopoimen, was a man of the people and after the people's own heart. Reduced to poverty



ENTRANCE TO THE GRAVES OF THE SCIPIOS.

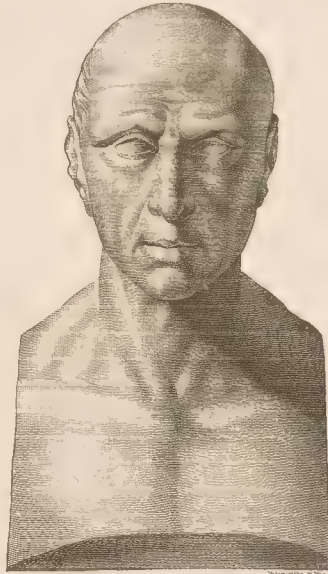
by unfortunate business speculations, he was compelled to earn his bread by working at a mill. While so employed he composed his comedies, which he sold to the aediles, the managers of the public entertainments, to be brought out at the popular festivals. Had he been of higher birth and greater refinement, he would probably have enjoyed the favour of the great, as did Terence; but his speech was crude, his versification careless, his persons and incidents taken from common life, his situations and dialogue full of equivocal, and often indecent enough. But he overflows with sparkling wit, ever ready and racy humour, and invention of comic intrigue—altogether a rich and puissant genius. He handled his Greek models with great freedom, and not only adapted them to Roman circumstances, but infused into them the Roman spirit.

Terence, a Carthaginian by birth, came in youth to Rome as a slave, where he was carefully educated by the senator Terentius Lucanus, and then emancipated. His fine cultivation and distinguished talent soon won him the friendship of the younger Scipio and of Laelius, and introduced him to that distinguished circle in which the lovers of Greek learning were cultivating purity of speech. He adapted, or re-wrought Greek comedies, and especially those of Menander, the purest and most decorous of the Greek comic poets. He held fast to his original, even to the Greek title which he retained, and strove to equal it in his exact and harmonious versification, his refined language, and his pure Latin. In so doing he not only obtained the favour and friendship of the distinguished men of his time, but earned

THE LITERATURE OF THE REPUBLIC.

from the great spirits of the succeeding age, such as Cicero and Caesar, and even later, the highest praise as the best and most perfect model of all the poets of the republic. But for this very reason he never had, as had Plautus, the loud applause of the multitude; and this may have been one cause why he soon left Rome, only to perish by shipwreck. Among the poets who succeeded him there were many who earned renown, but only their names have come down to us.

This first period of Roman literature belonged to poetry, but the second, the last century of the republic, to prose. The early poetry, the tragedy, the epos, retired into the background, as did also the comedy as an art, such as Terence had written it. But the stage was not deserted; the popular poetry, the *Atellanae*, and after them the mimes with speech, a similar kind of burlesque comedy, out of which the pantomimes developed in imperial times, still kept possession of it. Yet despite the increasing taste for the theatre, Pompeius was the first to give the people a permanent stage in a theatre of stone. Down to his time popular entertainments were given in mere tem-



TERENCE.

Though the Roman possessed no great original genius in poetry, yet he ceased to find pleasure in translations and adaptations. By this time the great Greek authors had become the common property of all men of cultivation, and all educated Romans read, wrote, and spoke Greek, while many composed verses in that tongue. Rome began to be the central point of Greek culture. Roman youths had

Greek teachers; in the public schools taught Greek philosophers and rhetoricians, who came in great numbers to Rome, attracted by wealth, power, and the favour of the great. The Roman nobles invited them to their tables, and contracted ties of intimate friendship with them. Thus above all the house of Lucius Lucullus, a famous general, and still more famous *bon vivant*, was a gathering-place of Greek scholars, literati, and artists, and of books and works of art as well. These men of letters entertained them and their guests with brilliant or instructive conversation, and doubtless did justice to the most luxurious table in Rome.

But despite all this, or rather for this very reason, men were no longer satisfied with the Greek direction which Roman literature had hitherto taken. The Roman mind had now become free and conscious of its own powers, and it began to condemn imitative work and second-rate talent, and while it still enjoyed the master-works of Greece, it sought to

ROME.

mark out paths of its own for its own productions. Thus it neglected artistic poetry, as not in its style, while with its strong practical sense it turned to artistic prose, which had already been brought by the Scipios, the Gracchi, and that circle, to a certain degree of perfection, quite sufficient for literary purposes. In prose it took two directions, in both of which it attained classical perfection, and these were history and oratory.

Yet, notwithstanding the general neglect of poetry at this period, there were two poets who rose above the ordinary level, and won high favour with the people. But neither of these poets, true Romans in soul and intellect, is a poet in our sense of the word, but stands nearer to prose than poetry.

One of these, Titus Lucretius Carus, who lived about 95-50 B. C., wrote in careful and often splendid hexameters, though not without stiffness and inharmoniousness at times, but the theme of his poem was the philosophy of Epikouros. His great poem *On the Nature of Things* is a philosophical didactic work, mathematics and physics wrought into verse—as unpoetical a subject as could well be found. Lucretius, however, brought enthusiasm to his task, and hoped through this poem to free the Romans from their superstition and the fear of death, and to fill them with equanimity and calmness of soul, that they might live like the blessed gods, indifferent to the things

of this world—unfortunately too abstract a theme for any enthusiasm to render poetical.

Lucilius, the elder of these two poets, was no more poetical than Lucretius, but his style was more original and genu-



SALLUST.

inely Roman. He was a Latin from the colony of Suessa (born 148, died 103 B. C.), who lived at Rome, and was influenced by the circle of the Scipios and their successors. He was, so to speak, a *feuilletonist* in verse, for all that was discussed or said in this brilliant and intellectual circle he threw into verse, with a ready facility, like that of a graceful talker—the occurrences of life, social matters, politics and literature, and even questions of criticism and grammar. Through all his light chat there ran a vein of satire, but it was not the proper ground of it, although this kind of poetry was called *satira*, and Lucilius a satiric poet. *Satira* or *Satura* denotes a kind of poetry that treats in a miscellaneous way of things in general; a dash of satire was first introduced, and soon became the chief feature of the composition. With Varro, the discontented adherent of the constitutional party, the miscellaneous trait is still the predominant one in his satires, which are mixed up of prose and verse. Horace was the first who fixed the character of the satire in such a way as to be a model for all succeeding times; but Horace belongs to the following period, that of the full bloom of Latin poetry.

The period of which we are treating had, as before said, set itself the task of bringing prose literature to perfection. In speech this perfection had been attained at the close of the preceding period, but corresponding writers had been wanting. This period had produced but a single historical work of importance, and that only at its close; the *Origines* of the elder Cato, a sketch of Roman history from its origin, and in a sense the summing-up of his life, for he wrote it in very advanced age, not long before his death. The work was later much

THE LITERATURE OF THE REPUBLIC.

referred to as a source of information, but it has not been preserved. This is all the more to be regretted, as Cato, as we have said, opposed the Greek culture with antique Roman severity and narrowness, and this work would have shown how far he was, or was not, independent of it.

This new period had an admirable model of historic writing in the Roman history of the Greek Polybius, a work which was not only Roman in its subject, but also in being a production of pure intelligence, and that a clear and penetrating intelligence which surveyed the world from a lofty point of view. Yet it does not seem to have been taken as a model, nor, apparently, did those who followed at all approach it. So far as we know—for all Roman history before Caesar has perished—historical writing was chiefly in the form of memoirs, biographies, and slighter pieces. The Romans of rank who at that time conducted war or commerce—Marius of course excepted—were men of literary cultivation, with whom it was almost a rule to commit to writing the leading events of their lives; and as Sulla was among them, we may well deplore the loss of these memoirs. Unfortunately the larger and more comprehensive historical works of the class of this period, those of Sallust and of Cornelius Nepos, are not now extant; what remain are but detached writings, covering relatively but small portions of history, but in themselves perfect classic productions, such as the *Commentaries* of Caesar and the extant writings of Sallust.

Of the two works which are admitted to be the genuine productions of the greatest of the Romans, Caius Julius Caesar, his narratives of the Gallic war and the civil war with Pompeius, the first is not even a history in the strict sense of the word, as it is written with the intent to produce a certain effect; that is, if the opinion be a correct one that looks on it as a justification of the conquest of Gaul against those who condemned it in Rome. But even if this be so, this purpose is lost sight of in the extraordinary gift of the ancients to treat things objectively, which no writer ever possessed in a higher degree than Caesar. The subject loses nothing of its vitality, of its intrinsic interest; the events pass before our eyes as visibly as in a drama, and yet the simple, terse narrative, expressed in a style of unsurpassable purity, never loses its repose. It is a work of the most lucid intellect, of the clearest head, a work of a great and richly-gifted genius which needed no embellishment.

If this simplicity, this grand natural style, gives Caesar's writings their peculiar charm, the two works of Sallust, *Catiline* and the *Jugurthine War*, go a step further; they are works of art, conscious and intentional art, and they do not attempt to conceal it. Caius Sallustius Crispus (born 86 B. C.) was not of high birth. Sprung of a family of the middle class in a small Sabine town, he made his way by his own talent through the vicissitudes of the revolution and the civil wars, not without some stain attaching to his character, especially from his praetorship in Numidia, where he amassed a fortune. Thenceforth he lived in dignified leisure in the famous gardens which he had laid out and embellished in Rome, devoted to literature and engaged in historical works, of which, beyond the two above mentioned, only fragments have descended to us. Although written with conscious art, and a little affectation of antique phrase, they are still, as regards the power and the dignity of style, the terse vigour with which a wealth of serious thought is presented, and the lofty, and even sometimes sublime feeling that animates them, real masterpieces, on a small scale, of historic writing. Art in them is not concealed, but it is art in perfection.

That which distinguishes Sallust's historical writing from Caesar's, its marked rhetorical character, is not a peculiarity of his own, but is more or less the character of this whole literary period, indeed, was a characteristic of the Romans themselves. The Roman had always

ROME.

rhetorical predilections, and this taste permeates all branches of his literature, his life, and his history. It was therefore quite natural that oratory was precisely the form in which Roman literature attained the highest excellence, and that such a man as Cicero, a man of words only, could not only play so important a political part, but became the central point of all Roman literature, has been ever since regarded as its head, and unquestionably has had the most enduring influence of all.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, born at Arpinum in the year 106 B. C., of equestrian rank, received his education in Rome from Greek masters, and completed it in the chief school of



HORTENSIVS.

oratory and philosophy at Rhodes. Gifted with a quick and receptive mind, he soon acquired all that study could then offer a young man of rank, especially the various philosophical systems, which in his judgment were as necessary for a public speaker—the career he intended to pursue—as practice in oratory itself. Thus well equipped he entered into public life and the arena of politics, ascended to the top the ladder of ambition, filling one high office after another, and when in his consulate he succeeded in crushing the conspiracy of Catiline, he was honoured with the title of “Father of his Country.”

And all this he achieved as a man of words, as orator and writer. Vacillating in his political course, vainglorious in success, pusillanimous in misfortune, rather pushed forward and urged on by others than a leader of men, as a statesman he presents but a weak figure. Even as a writer he lacked originality, power, vigour, and fulness of thought. His merit lay in his language, which he handled with a mastery such as no other Roman, before or since, ever attained.

At the time when he entered public life, the purity and artistic use of the Latin tongue was in great danger. The pure Latin of the Scipios, the correct speech of men of rank and education, was giving way before a reaction in favour of the vulgar Latin, the speech of the people, which even ascended the orator's tribune with the eloquent Hortensius.

THE LITERATURE OF THE REPUBLIC.

It was Cicero who, with his Greek culture, with his more refined taste, due to his residence at Rhodes, and his polished art, brought back the nobler speech, and the art of using words, into literature and upon the tribune. Furnishing, as he did in his spoken and his written orations as well as in his numerous other writings, models for imitation, he not only preserved the speech of Rome from lapsing into barbarism, but was the acknowledged founder of classical Latin.

Accomplished and cultivated as he was on many sides, theoretically and philosophically, his writings extended over almost all branches of literature, but we are far from possessing the whole of these. Everything of the kind that he undertook was easy to him; words were always ready at his disposal, even when he was obliged to make them; but his thoughts were rarely profound.

Beside his numerous orations, of which many were recast afterwards, and many never delivered at all, so that with these he originated a new branch of literature, the written address - beside these he composed several works on the theory and history of oratory, wrote histories, made verses, and in his last years, when the turn political affairs had taken rele-



CICERO.

gated him to involuntary leisure in the country, composed a series of philosophical writings in which he shows little or no originality, and perhaps has only the merit of having created a philosophical Latin for the Romans and all later philosophical writers in that tongue. Once more he allowed himself to be drawn from his rural retirement to deliver his Philippic orations

against Antony, and this cost him his life. Murderers, despatched by Antony, slew him, then sixty-four years old. His letters were collected and published after his death; full of information about many men and things, and at the same time chatty and amusing, for he was a delightful talker, they belong to the best of Cicero's writings.

There were more learned men than Cicero, and especially his contemporary Terentius Varro, who composed satires, wrote historical works, and had a deep and extensive knowledge of Roman antiquities, on account of which qualities Caesar had pitched upon him for the chief librarian of that great library which he proposed to found in Rome before the assassin's steel closed his career. Varro wrote learned works which were highly esteemed, but in form and language he was far inferior to Cicero; indeed, in these respects the great orator had no peer. It was Cicero who, as the copestone of the literature of the republic, brought the Latin tongue to its perfection, but he gave it so fixed and canonical a form that any further development was hardly possible.



SARCOPHAGUS OF THE MUSES AT THE CAPITOL.

3.

THE LITERATURE OF THE EMPIRE.



URING the last century of the Republic, prose was in the ascendant ; during the first of the empire, the Augustan age, poetry. This is a noteworthy phenomenon in the history of literature : the highest perfection of prose precedes the highest perfection of poetry. Usually it is the other way : it is commonly the poets who first bring language to the condition in which it becomes capable of perfectly fixing thought. Yet with the Romans this chronological order is quite natural. In this period Roman poetry remains what it was from the first, a product of intelligence and artistic skill, a result of talent and cultivation, not a work of the creative power of genius.

At this time the young Roman grew up in an atmosphere of poetry. In the school the poets were the first and chief means of instruction ; the Latin poets of the earlier period, and the Greeks. These he was taught to read and understand ; they were elucidated and imitated. Verse-making was an exercise of the young student, and he preserved the faculty and the practice in later life : everybody made verses, and many believed themselves poets. The imperial house set the example, not princes alone, but the sovereigns themselves as well. Augustus wrote a poem in hexameters on Sicily, and composed epigrams while in his bath. Tiberius wrote poetry in Greek as well as Latin : Germanicus found time for poetical composition during his campaigns, and even wrote Greek comedies. Nero considered himself a great and genuine poet,

THE LITERATURE OF THE EMPIRE.

not a mere dilettante who wrote merely for his amusement; and he desired all the would so to consider him. Only Caligula and Claudius pursued solid studies; the former devoted himself to oratory, and the latter wrote learned histories.

In this way the taste of the time co-operated with the teachings of the school; but there was still another circumstance that favoured poetry. With the fall of the republic, eloquence, it is true, had not ceased to be the surest path to success; the study of rhetoric remained as before the way to offices and dignities; but under the autocratic rule of Augustus and the tyranny of his successors, free speech was not merely checked, it became in the highest degree dangerous. Many men of talent therefore prudently turned to poesy, which offered relative, if not absolute, security. In poetry, talent found a favourable field for exercise; and with it one might, without too gross adulation, enjoy the favour of the great, win fame and honour, and in addition—at least in the time of Augustus—might earn a modest and independent living, if not riches.

The great men of that time, with Augustus at their head, not only made verses like other mortals, but they held themselves, in a sense, in honour bound to protect and to reward poets, and even to associate with them on a footing of friendship. Augustus valued literature and writers on political as well as personal grounds. With his accession Rome entered on an era of peace and quiet, and he was well pleased that the people, deprived of their freedom, should turn their attention to literary matters. But he also took a personal pleasure in poetry and other intellectual work, and for this reason liked to associate with men of letters. He was fond of conversation with men of intelligence, and his literary friends were always welcome guests at his table. In this he was imitated by the rest of his family and many of his courtiers. But Augustus did not confine his recognition of the poets to listening to their works, and attending at their public recitations; his regard and appreciation took a more substantial form. By his favours Vergil became a wealthy man, and so might Horace have become, had he not preferred a modest competence which allowed him to preserve his entire independence, even toward an Augustus.

The example of the emperor was followed by the great nobles of his court, such as Valerius Messala, and above all Maecenas, whose generous patronage of letters has enriched language with a new word. His friendship to the poets has almost caused his great importance as a statesman, as friend and counsellor of Augustus, and his associate in founding the empire, to be overlooked. A friend of art and literature, a man of wit and intelligence, a man of the world, rich, noble, and large-minded, he lived, after the empire was fairly established, a life of noble and elegant leisure, in constant intimacy with his poetic friends Horace, Vergil, Varius, and the rest, and they were always welcome guests in his wonderful gardens, in his palace on the heights of Rome, from whose tower he might survey the whole city and the surrounding country, or at his country-house at Tibur, by the waterfalls of the Anio. He also was generous and secured his friends from all want. To him it was that Horace owed his charming Sabine farm surrounded by woods, whither he so often fled for repose from the busy life of the capital and the company of the great. For thirty years this close friendship lasted, until the death of Maecenas, followed in the same year by that of Horace, who was buried by his side.

Under such circumstances many gifted men devoted themselves to poetry, but among them all there was no genius; none whose poetry sprang from the depths of the soul, none to whom it was a passionate outburst of the heart. All that intelligent men of distinguished talents and the finest culture could produce in an admirably perfected language by following

the noblest models, was achieved by the Roman poets of the Augustan age. Their works have all the external qualities of good poetry ; striking thoughts, perfected and various form, a sonorous language, rich imagery, taste, grace, and copiousness—but the soul of poesy is wanting. Thus the poetry of the Augustan age remained at its genuine Roman stage, that of rhetoric. The continued study and familiarity with the poets from childhood had the effect of embellishing even the speech of every-day life with some of the graces of poetry ; while poesy itself could not cast off this rhetorical character which was a fundamental characteristic of the Roman mind. Speech was poetry in prose ; poetry, rhetoric in verse.

Unfortunately, too, it was not the great and original poets who were chosen as models. They held fast still to the Greeks, who were now understood and enjoyed if possible better than ever before ; and made no attempt to create an original Roman poetry, content if they could only equal their models ; and in truth, in some respects they not only equalled, but even surpassed them. For the models then most read in the schools and followed by the poets were the Greeks of the Alexandrian period, the masters of a secondary and derivative poetry that had revived under the influence of intelligence and learning. And these qualities made the Roman feel



VERGIL.

them nearer to him than a Homer or a Sophokles. Whatever they had been able to produce by talent, cultivation, intelligence, and refined taste, that the Roman could produce also.

So in quality, at least, a limit was set to the Roman poetry of this period ; the highest achievements were beyond its reach ; but so far as the number of poets and variety of forms were concerned, there was no limit ; song and poetic composition went on all over the empire and in all styles.

Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Catullus, Propertius,—to name only poets whose works have descended to us,—form at once a considerable list of names of the first rank. Every style of composition was tried, though not all with equal success, and least successfully in tragedy. But the epic, in both the grander heroic form, and in shorter pieces, flourished, as did the Roman satire, the didactic poem, instructive or playful ; the song proper or ode, after the pattern of the Greek melos-writers and their Alexandrian successors ; the elegy ; the occasional poem ; and the rural poem, the idyll in the style of Theokritos, the most graceful and original poetic composition of the Alexandrian period. Of the above-named great poets, the earliest, Caius Valerius Catullus, in date does not strictly belong to the circle of the Augustan poets ; but in genius he is closely allied with them, and must be counted the first of the new poetic school. He would have been a contemporary of Horace and Vergil, if a premature death had not cut short his career in about the thirtieth year of his age. So in strict chronology the brief period of his writing falls in the last years of the republic, with whose leading men he came more or less into contact.

Sprung of a collateral branch of the famous Valerian house, Catullus was born in the

year 87 *B. C.*, on the Sirmian peninsula in Lake Garda. He was sent early to Rome, where he received his education, and where his birth and family connexions—his father was a friend of Caesar's—admitted him to the most distinguished circles. His talent led him to imitate the light, pleasing, and graceful style of short occasional poems, in which the Alexandrian writers excelled, and even to introduce into Roman poetry the difficult strophe-construction of the Greek ode. A song, a playful poem, a festive ode, or an elegy, these were the productions of the young poet, who, as it seems, in nowise soared above the average level, or at least not above his Alexandrian models. But he learned to know the power of love, and through love he became a true poet, we may almost say the only one in this sense that Rome produced. The beautiful and intellectual Clodia, of the haughty Claudian race, wife of the consul Quintus Metellus Celer, as was mentioned in the chapter on Roman women, kindled the heart and inspired the soul of the youthful poet. In this hidden passion, which for awhile was returned by its object, Catullus found tones of the heart, words of passion, a speech of love, such as had never before been heard in Rome; but he also found in like manner the tones of burning indignation and withering scorn, when she became faithless to him, disdained him, and sank to degradation herself, if, indeed, the reports of those times are to be believed.

In this sense Catullus stands alone; not that other poets of equal talent would not have followed the same course under similar circumstances; but his love to Lesbia, as he called Clodia, remained single of its kind among poets. It was a deep and fervid passion, a mysterious and dangerous connexion, and its rupture may well have brought about the poet's early death. But the fair ones whom his successors sang by the names of Lalage, Neaera, Delia, Glycera, Lycoris, were of a lower class; love with them was only a pastime, and the songs in which they are sung only the sportive exercise of wit and fancy, not the effusions of genuine passion.

Thus it was with the love of Tibullus, who held the first place in Rome as an elegiac poet. The Roman elegy rejected the acrid political tone of the Greek, and confined itself to a single species, the erotic, which had been brought to especial perfection by the Alexandrians. This style the Roman poets handled with facility and grace, but not without a tinge of sadness, which was not foreign to their serious disposition, which it well became. This is especially the character of the elegies of Albius Tibullus, and Tibullus is the most genuine and the most Roman of all elegists. He also, like Catullus, was a young poet, and was cut off at an early age. The year 43 *B. C.* is generally accepted as that of his birth, and it is certain that he died in the year 19 *B. C.* The son of a Roman knight, he had lost the greater part of his patrimony in the civil wars; but a little farm near Penum in the Sabine hills remained to him, and here he lived for the most part, dividing his time between rural occupations and literature. He loved the country like a genuine Roman, loved the charms of nature, the sweet peace, the soft repose of a rural life; and he could give to this feeling the tenderest and truest expression. So was it in his love; at times a tone of strong passion is heard; but he soon falls back into softness, tenderness, and melancholy. This tone was natural and true; and his truth and simplicity have placed him, despite his somewhat feminine character, among the admired and classic poets.

A more manly nature was that of Sextus Aurelius Propertius, his competitor in elegiac poetry, who was born between 58 and 46 *B. C.*, and died 15 *B. C.* He was a friend of Ovid, and of Cornelius Gallus, that elegist whose works are unhappily lost, and whose tragic fate has made him more celebrated than his writings. Propertius is vigorous in his language,

manly and bold in thought, but less original than his more tender contemporary Tibullus. He followed closely his Greek models, especially the Alexandrian Kallimachos, on which account he was called the Roman Kallimachos.

These three poets, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, form a group, beside which stands another group, made up of Ovid, Horace, and Vergil. Ovid forms the link between the two, being both an elegist and a narrative poet. But as an elegist he stands apart from the others, for with him the elegiac tone is only assumed, or mingled with wit and sportiveness, and in this style he is peculiar. His was an eminent talent, rising almost to genius, but the talent is superficial and never reaches the depths of feeling. Opulent in words, his verses flow with a freedom, lightness, and grace such as hardly another Roman poet possessed; and this gift he not only uses, but sometimes abuses, be-

way to have abused this intimacy, for Augustus, at the same time that he banished his frail grand-daughter Julia, exiled Ovid to Tomi in Moesia, on the shore of the Black Sea. There the unhappy poet remained, far from his beloved Rome, for eight long years, and poured forth his woes and despair in rather unmanly fashion in his *Books of Sorrows* (*Libri Tristium*) and in the letters (*Epistolae ex Ponto*) he wrote to his friends. But melodious appeals and friendly influence were all in vain: Augustus could not be brought to

ing as little scrupulous in his choice of subjects, as in the expression of the thoughts which arise in his mind.

PUBLIUS OVIDIUS NASO, born at Sulmo in Pelignum, 43 B. C., was the son of a man of means, and had the advantage of a careful education at Rome; but he early renounced public life, and devoted himself to the Muses. His talent and art introduced him to the court of Augustus, and his amiability, wit, and conversational powers made him a favourite member of the Augustan circle and an intimate of the imperial family. But he seems in some indiscreet



HORACE.

THE LITERATURE OF THE EMPIRE.

relent, and his successor Tiberius was equally inexorable. Ovid died at Tomi in the year 17 A. D., in the sixtieth year of his age.

But it was not these lamentations from Pontus that made Ovid a celebrated poet. Wearying in their interminable querulousness, they are and have always been but little read. His amatory poems, whose too great freedom may have been the cause of his banishment; his *Amatory Art*, which treats of the ways and means to succeed in love; and his *Amours*, relating his own adventures, his joys and sorrows in his love-affairs, have been held in much higher estimation. But his chief work, and that with which to the present day his name is associated, is his *Metamorphoses*, a narrative poem, which, sometimes graceful, sometimes lofty, usually smooth and flowing, but always bright and forcible, keeping to the thread of the various transformations effect-

ed by the anger or compassion of the gods, runs through the whole circuit of mythology.

That which Ovid lacked, the power of severe self-criticism. Horace possessed and exercised in the highest degree; with talent as great as Ovid's, he had a more disciplined intellect. He had studied philosophy diligently, and not only studied it, he had taken it deeply to heart; and when the passions of youth had been tamed by advancing years, philosophy became the refuge of his life. His philosophy was that of Epikouros in its nobler comprehension, which raised him



OVID.

above worldly affairs, and gave him equanimity, repose of the soul, and happiness. Quintus Horatius Flaccus, the son of a freedman of moderate fortune, was born at Venusia in the year 65 B. C., and educated at Rome. His youth corresponded with the time of the civil wars, and when he grew up he entered military service and was present in the army of Brutus at the battle of Philippi. His adhesion to the republican cause cost him his paternal estate; but he received the benefit of the amnesty, and returned to Rome. Here he soon

gained a reputation as a poet, and became the friend of Vergil, who introduced him to Maecenas, and Maecenas to Augustus. The state of things had now changed; the republic had fallen; so Horace, the former republican, adjusted himself to the new position of affairs and became the friend of the great. Augustus wished to make him his secretary; but Horace, loving independence, declined the position and the honour. Maecenas wished to have him as his daily guest, as his constant companion and associate, but the poet still preferred to be the master of his own time and life, only accepting from his noble friend his Sabine farm, which replaced that which he had lost. Thus he might the more freely praise and honour his friends and patrons, both Augustus and Maecenas, without incurring the reproach of venal flattery. But he was happiest on his own Sabine land, where he forgot the tumult and cares of the world, and all the greatness and littleness of Rome. He died in the same year with his friend Maecenas, 8 B. C.

Horace had a philosophical mind, but still more was he the philosopher of the heart. Certain of himself, contented with little, independent and free from care, he laughed at the follies and vices of the world. From this position he composed his earliest poems, or at least the earliest

which he made public, his two books of *Satires*, not the severe, caustic, political satire of a Lucilius, but the playful satire of a sage, who, contented and cheerful himself, stands apart wondering at

and experience of a man of matured mind, one who has seen the world and knows it thoroughly. The third epistle of the second book (*Epistola ad Pisones*, or *Ars Poetica*) deals in this style with poets and poetic composition. Between these come his lyrical poems, the *Odes*, which undoubtedly were written at various periods of his life, even if the first three books were published at once. In these *Odes*, in which he sings of his loves or his friends, celebrates Maecenas and Augustus, or gives his reflections upon life and the world, Horace is less original, less Roman, than in his *Satires* and *Epistles*. He holds more closely to his Greek predecessor, whose words and thoughts he not seldom appropriates. But in reading the *Odes* one forgets altogether the model, so complete, so perfect and symmetrical, so harmonious are they, whether in light sportive vein, or whether they take a bolder flight. In either case they are among the most perfect productions of Roman literature.

Equally masterly, but in another field, is Vergil. As Horace fixed the form of the artistic ode, the sportive satire, the easy epistle, so Vergil fixed the type of the Roman epos. This was felt at once when the *Aeneis* was made known, after the poet's death, to the Roman people. Publius Vergilius Maro was born at Andes near Mantua in the year 70 B. C., and died at Brundisium, after returning from a voyage to Greece, in 19 B. C. Brought up in the province, though carefully educated by the best masters, and coming to Rome in early manhood, even in intimate association with Augustus and the court, he could never quite lay aside the provincial. But his personal imperfections were lost sight of in the brilliancy of his talent, and Vergil became the favourite and the most popular of all Roman poets.



HORACE.

the foolish doings of men. This also is the tone he takes in his *Epistles*, poems addressed to various persons, in which he freely handles topics of various sorts, following the bent of his humour, and shows the thoughts

The first poetical works which he gave to the public gained for him at once a great reputation, but rather from the novelty of the style than the intrinsic worth. In his *Eclogues*, as they are usually called, he introduced to Rome compositions in the style of Theokritos, the idyll or pastoral poem. To be sure it is not quite the same. With Theokritos also the idyll is a production of reflective art, but the shepherds are shepherds, and the character and situations have the local colour of rural life. With Vergil, the idyll has, so to speak, passed twice through the understanding; the Roman can not dispense with rhetoric, he brings in allegory and learned allusions, and so spoils the natural rural character; the shepherds are no longer shepherds. But Vergil thoroughly knew the country and country-life, as is shown in the second of his preserved works, the four books of *Georgics*, which describe agriculture, the cultivation of trees, stock-raising and bee-raising. But here too he is not original; he had Greek models to follow, and even at Rome, where didactic poetry had long been written, agriculture had found its poets. Vergil used the works of his predecessors; but his knowledge of rural matters enabled him to give his poem a thoroughly Italian character as well as form.

With these and other works, of which some small poems have been preserved which are attributed to him, at least—Vergil had already attained poetic celebrity when he undertook to compose a national epic for the Roman people, and the *Aeneis* was the result. No hap-



HORACE

rich, and poetical, but it was also a tribute to the now consolidated empire and the imperial family, for the Julian line traced its descent directly from Aeneas. Vergil, it is true, was no Homer; the natural, original, creative genius of the Greek is replaced in the Roman by conscious reflection: intelligence takes the place of imagination, and rhetoric that of the simple but always happy language. Nevertheless, the *Aeneis* is by far the best epos which Rome produced, and well deserves its fame. If the treatment is not entirely original, the expression and style are perfect; it is harmonious and strong, rich in beauties; and if it has rather the character of rhetoric than of original poetry, this suited the taste of the Romans, and in that sense is almost an additional merit. The *Aeneis* was therefore, with a certain propriety, the ideal of succeeding poets: it became at once a school-book, and has so remained to this day. Vergil himself became a hero of legend and fable; and a glory surrounds his supposed grave at Posilippo near Naples, which was, at all events, his favourite resort.

To place beside these poets, the Augustan age can show but a single prose writer of equal rank: Titus Livius, the historian. Many of the great men who made the history of their time, wrote memoirs of their lives, as did Asinius Pollio, Agrippa, and Augustus himself; but these works have all perished, and we can form no judgment of their merits. The works of Livius alone, of all these distinguished writers, have survived to our time, and those unfortunately only in part.

Titus Livius was born in Padua in the year 59 B. C., and died there in the year 17 A. D.

piet subject could have been chosen: the prehistoric story of Rome from the flight of Aeneas from the flames of Troy, to the foundation of the city. The material was not only national,

He enjoyed the friendship of Augustus, and led the life of a scholar at Rome, where he was occupied for years in the composition of his work, which recounted the history of Rome from its foundation to his own time, to the Germanic wars and the death of Drusus in the year 9 B. C.—a colossal and stupendous undertaking conscientiously performed, and finished with the highest art and care. Only thirty-five books have remained of the whole hundred and forty, and these are the first and most important source of our Roman history, and still enough to show us the author as a historian of the first rank. We say "first rank" advisedly, for he takes an equal place with Caesar and Sallust, and, in a certain sense, even excels them. Caesar is simple, natural, artless: his greatness as a historian lies in his greatness as a man; Sallust is a deliberate and conscious artist, in whom we see the selection of words, the carefully weighed expression, and the rhetorical and oratorical element. But in Livius this element dominates the whole narration. As a pupil of the rhetors and philosophers, he does not sacrifice the truth, but his aim is to produce a beautiful narrative, a vivid delineation in eloquent language; and in this aspect he marks the culmination of Roman prose.

With Livius, it is true, the rhetoric rules the narration, but he has a rich material to work upon, with which this style does not seem incongruous. Otherwise was it in the period after Augustus. Then the form was all that was considered or cared for: men wished to write beautifully, elegantly; the phrase becomes the thing of consequence, and the subject a secondary consideration. The speaker becomes a rhetorician, either in the school or in the practice of the courts. As he could not speak with perfect liberty, was not free to censure or to praise in the following despotic time, he became a flatterer and panegyrist. The panegyric becomes a special and favourite style of oratory, for which subjects never failed until the fall of the empire, for so long the panegyrists flourished and practised their ignoble craft after the pattern which the younger Pliny, one of the best of them, has left us in his panegyric of Trajan.

But not the oration alone suffered by this tone, this unhealthy tendency. All branches of literature were infected with declamation, and this statement is to be understood literally, not figuratively merely. Whoever had written anything in poetry or prose which he wished to bring to the notice of the public, effected his purpose most easily by a recitation. It is true that the book-trade was a well-established business even in the first years of the empire. The booksellers employed constantly numerous transcribers, by whose aid they were able to produce thousands of copies of a work; and they kept shops frequented by all lovers of letters, and had connexions with the provinces, to which they sent old and new works to order or for sale. The Roman and the Greek literature combined had become the literature of the world: and the book-trade diffused it through all the provinces of the empire to its farthest limits. But the author desired immediate success; he was not disposed to wait until the echo of his fame came reverberating back from Gades or Pontus. So a public reading of the latest work grew to be a universal custom, which was not, however, without expense and some inconvenience to the reader. If no great man placed a house or hall at his disposal, he was compelled to hire a suitable room, hurry around among his friends and patrons, invite them, drag them in, must arrange a *claque*, with endless other similar troubles. A great man, who happened to be an author or poet, had naturally none of these cares; his friends and flatterers made it a point to be present; his swarm of clients was on hand, and he was sure of a storm of applause, though boredom was stamped on every face.

This custom of public reading led to continual aiming at effect, to mere hollow declamation, to which the time was already prone. There were poets enough, and more than enough,

in the post-Augustan time, but the substance is prose and the form declamation. Thus the ten extant tragedies usually attributed to the philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the tutor of Nero, are nothing more than declamatory exercises in iambic trimeters, in stilted bombastic phrase, larded with philosophical reflections. The epic poets, whose ideal was Vergil, such as Marcus Annaeus Lucan (born at Corduba in Spain, 38 A. D.) and Silius Italicus (25-100 A. D.), chose subjects for their epics that were prosaic enough. They selected simple history; Lucan the war between Caesar and Pompeius, Silius the second Punic war. It is said of Lucan that a leading object in writing his *Pharsalia* was to furnish a book of speeches of a superior quality for those who were studying elocution.

As poetry declined, so also sank the position and consideration of the poets. Nero was jealous of the fame of other poets, other emperors were illiberal toward them, and the Maecenases either no longer appeared, or were less bountiful than in the time when Augustus set the example. Martial the epigrammatist (born 40 A. D.) boasted, it is true, of the favour of

Domitian, but did not even receive from his imperial patron the means of a comfortable subsistence; with the ordinary herd of clients he had to present himself in the morning at the houses of the great, and live upon the wretched sportula. Thus he lived for thirty-five years in Rome, until the younger Pliny furnished him the means to return to his native Spain, where he afterwards



MAECENAS.

towards took revenge for the miseries he had endured in Rome, in his numerous published epigrams, in which he attacks the life and manners of the capital with more malice and venom than genuine wit. Other poets beside Martial write with bitterness, but not of their personal grievances. Nobler natures sickened at the corruption of the time, the viciousness and baseness of men,

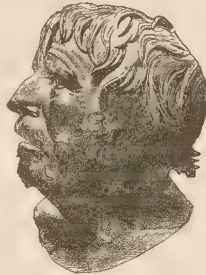
the fawning and flattering in Rome, and gave forcible expression to their disgust in bitter satires. Such a nature was the young Persius (born 34 A. D.), an earnest character, formed in the stoic school, who looked at the life of his time from the darkest side. Perhaps the fore-feeling of an early death—he died at twenty-eight—may have given a sad tinge to all his thought. In this respect happier was his fellow-satirist, Juvenal (born 42 A. D.), whom the experiences of life led at a somewhat advanced age to attack the follies and wickedness of the times. In his satire we see the results of the tyranny of Domitian, under whose successors morals had not greatly improved, and certainly gave room for the sharpest satire. Juvenal paints the life and manners of the capital in the blackest colours he can command; an indignation intense almost to fierceness dictates the verse.

But there are better things to be said of this period of Roman literature. True, all the writers share the leading defect of the time, the rhetorical declamation, in greater or less degree; but there are authors of merit among them, whether we judge by their modes of thought, their talent, or the contents of their works. As a thinker and moralist we must note Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the philosopher, a Spaniard from Corduba, who by his numerous moral and philosophical writings aimed at teaching moderation, and giving fortitude and consolation to men who had fallen upon evil times; though he was not successful with his pupil Nero, at whose command he expiated a life perhaps not altogether blameless, by a calm and

courageous death. To the same class belonged the elder Pliny, a man insatiable for knowledge, a collector of information on a grand scale, whose extensive work on natural history, though both in form and substance it has many faults, still has preserved for us a mass of information concerning antiquity, which otherwise we should not have known. His thirst for knowledge, as is well known, caused his death during that great eruption of Vesuvius which buried Herculaneum and Pompeii. Here too belongs his nephew, the younger Pliny, the friend of Trajan and his proconsul in Bithynia, who afterwards lived in Rome and on his estates, occupied with study, oratory, and partly with poetry; a pleasing and admired speaker, an entertaining letter-writer, and quite conscious of his own excellence in both. And lastly we must add to this group the fourth and greatest of all, Tacitus.

Caius Cornelius Tacitus, born at Interamma about 50 A. D., after pursuing the study of oratory, devoted himself to public life, became praetor in the year 88, consul in 97, and disappears from the public stage two years later, though his life was prolonged to about eighty.

After his retirement he wrote his works, the life of his father-in-law Agricola, the famous leader of the Roman armies in Britain; his *Germania*; his larger historical works, the *Annals* and the *Histories*, and the shorter work of the *Orators*. In all these writings we see a definite bias, the constant protest of a true Roman of the old stamp against the changed and corrupt times in which he lived. In Tacitus Ro-



SENECA.

biography, he gives the portrait of a really great man and great general; in his *Germania*, a sketch of Germany and the Germans, he draws the picture of an uncorrupted nation, which in many traits was, and was intended to be, a strong contrast to the Romans of his time. In his *Annals* and *Histories*, of which the latter was the earlier composition, he gave the picture of the imperial time, partly from his own experience, and partly from other sources of information; in the *Annals*, the period from the death of Augustus to that of Nero; in the *Histories*, from the accession of Galba to the death of Domitian. In all these works the style is terse, condensed, but rich in thought; the language strong, full of dignity, but not without artificiality shown in the use of archaisms, in antitheses and peculiarities of construction. Tacitus here stands on the level of his age; and here too it is the rhetorical element which in him is dominated by his strong personality and takes a peculiar stamp.

If a writer like Tacitus followed the taste of his age, what could we expect from weaker talents and less independent characters? Whether their productions were in prose or poetry, the declamatory tone echoes through them all. Yet there arose at this time an opposition, a reaction against the prevailing taste. There were writers who, weary of artificial pathos, rhetorical phrase, and inflated style, urged a return to the old simpler language, and set the example. Some, at the head of whom stood the grammarian and orator Quintilianus, a

man history had once more found a man in whom the ancient Roman pride and Roman honour were fully alive. In a better time he would have been a man of great deeds: in his own he became a great writer, a great historian of his people and his age. This age is corrupt, dissolute, enervated; he becomes its severe and inexorable judge, and his sentence is condemnation. In his *Agricola*, a brief but masterly

THE LITERATURE OF THE EMPIRE.

writer deservedly esteemed, advocated a return to the pure classicity of Cicero and his contemporaries; while others were not content with this, but aimed at more radical reforms. Just as at this time a predilection for archaistic styles arose in art, so was it also in literature; and in both phases of this tendency Hadrian was influential. The archaistic taste recognized among the classic poets only Vergil, or at most Catullus; with these exceptions it went back to Ennius and his contemporaries. At the head of these reactionaries stood Fronto, the teacher and friend of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, who as philosopher, man, and author was himself an anomaly upon the throne.

But neither the classic reaction nor the archaistic movement was so successful as a



VILLA OF THE YOUNGER PLINY.

similar reaction which took place simultaneously in Greek literature, and which produced writers like Plutarch and Lucian, and even a new philosophy, the Neo-Platonic. The reaction in Roman literature was unfruitful; it founded no school and produced no great writers; its utmost success was to set an ephemeral fashion.

Unchecked by this episode, the decline of Roman literature still went on. In Tacitus it had produced its last great writer, the last of strong personality and originality. What followed, with perhaps the exception of the jurists, is all mediocre, even in its very design. But there was no lack of writers, nor of interest in literature: new schools, new libraries were founded, salaried teachers were even provided at public expense, a thing hitherto unknown. But the time was not one in which even mediocrity could come to full development. Amid the interminable wars which now threatened Italy itself, men worked in disquiet, uncertainty and haste. It was in the camp and the field that talents found a career; the soldier, the general, even if rude and uncultivated, was the man of the time, not the scholar and artist.

ROME.

The emperors only favoured flatterers or dry chroniclers ; so the historians fell into one or the other of these classes ; and when one of higher order arose, like Ammianus Marcellinus in the fourth century, we only regret that he had not lived in a better time. The language also declines ; foreign words and constructions are introduced ; provincialisms, vulgarities, even barbarisms, gain a footing in the literary speech. The classics are forgotten ; no one now either speaks or writes in the language of Cicero. The decaying nation, the crumbling empire, are incapable of giving new life to the tongue, of reviving it with fresh material. The nation, the literature, speech and art are all together hastening irresistibly to their fall. Then the empire is split in two, and the Greek half draws the best talents to itself. The barbarians pour over Italy and plant themselves upon it as masters. Thus literature expires ; and in the place of the finished literary language comes in the speech of the populace, but without the power of creating a new literature.

And yet the power of Roman literature, like that of antique art, had not perished utterly. All that already existed in it, all that had been gained by it, remained to produce again and again new blossoming-times of culture. The Christian writers, it is true, were not able to create such a period, although they poured new matter into the old speech, and in this respect did more than the adherents of the old gods. But even under Charles the Great, when as yet the peoples had hardly had a breathing-time, the formative power of the antique culture and art showed itself once more. It is true that what then arose was a still imperfect creation, and it diverged even farther and farther from the antique source ; but nevertheless this had been the fructifying element. But when the spirit of the middle ages expired, the day of Greek and Roman culture dawned once more, to kindle again from its ashes into clear flame the failing fire of the spirit, and bring in the age of the Renaissance. And thus will they again display the might of their perennial youth, should the world again threaten to sink into materialism and barbarism.



THE LITERATURE OF THE EMPIRE.

Firm in this belief, the author bids farewell to his readers, and farewell to *Greece and Rome*. As he lays down his pen, and closes this familiar intercourse with those wonderful peoples, his feelings are not unlike those with which he took leave of Rome. Who that has a soul susceptible of grandeur and beauty, a soul that can vibrate to the memories of a mighty past, has not felt the Eternal City growing deeper and deeper into his heart with every day of his sojourn, and who has ever yet been able to leave it without a feeling of sadness? May but one spark of this emotion kindle in the reader when he parts from *Greece and Rome*!





INDEX.

ILLUSTRATIONS ARE INDICATED BY HEAVY-FACED TYPE.

- Achaïans, 7, 43; league, 44.
 Achilles, 8.
 Acta diurna, 223.
 Actium, 201.
 Adrianople, 214.
 Adriatic, 5, 23.
 Aegæan Sea, 5, 7.
 Aequians, 193.
 Aesop, 47.
 Africa, 214, 220.
 Africans, 203.
 Agamemnon, 5, 9.
 Agathon, 102; feast, 87.
 Agesandros, 164.
 Agesilaos, 32, 37, 44.
 Agis, 43.
 Agrigentum, 147.
 Agrippa, 204, 315, 337.
 Agrippina, 206, 254, 255, 257.
 Aigai, 42.
 Aigina, 119; marbles, 57, 158.
 Aiginetans, 19.
 Aigospotamos, 32.
 Aioliens, 9, 12, 75.
 Aischines, 35, 181.
 Aischylos, 170, 171, 172, 173.
 Aithiopians, 25.
 Aitolians, 44.
 Akademia, 139.
 Akarnania, 165.
 Akroteria, 149.
 Alac, 230.
 Alans, 214.
 Alaric, 214.
 Alba, 193.
 Aldobrandini wedding, 251.
 Alexander, 38, 38, 190; entrance into Babylon, 37; conquests, 38-41; their ultimate results, 42; bacchanalian feast, 41.
 Alexander Severus, 212.
 Alexandria, 40, 42, 180, 216, 221, 225; scholars of, 5.
 Alkaios, 169.
 Alkamenes, 159.
 Alkestis, 73.
 Alkibiades, 89, 185.
 Alkinoos, 74.
 Alkmaionids, 19.
 Alkman, 170.
 Altar, 201.
 Altis, 158.
 Alpheios, 17, 128.
 Alps, 210.
 Amazons, 60.
 Ammianus, 342; quoted, 318.
 Amphiktyon, 8.
 Amphiktyonia, 8.
 Amphiktyonic league, 17.
 Amphion, 164.
 Amphora, 155.
 Anakreon, 170; quoted, 78, 99.
 Anatolia, 165.
 Anaxagoras, 183.
 Anaximander, 183.
 Anaximenes, 183.
 Andromache, 73.
 Andronicus, 321.
 Andronitis, 86.
 Antalidas, peace of, 37.
 Antigone, 73.
 Antigonos, 42, 43.
 Antinoos, 210, 305, 311.
 Antiochia, 216, 221.
 Antiochus, 81, 195.
 Antipatros quoted, 93.
 Antisthenes, 185.
 Antium, 236.
 Antoninus Pius, 210.
 Antony, 255, 256, 287, 329.
 Apelles, 82, 153, 154, 156, 307.
 Apennines, 192.
 Aphrodite, 82, 131; a Phoinikian deity worshipped in Corinth, 6; statues, 162, 304.
 Apicius, 272.
 Apollo, 7, 134, 136; statues, 162; (Belvedere) 57, 165, 304; (Sauraktonos) 162.
 Apollodoros, 155.
 Apollonios, 164.
 Apollonius, 266.
 Apoxyomenos, 125, 163.
 Appian way, 222.
 Aqueducts, 219, 222.
 Aquileia, 210.
 Aquilius, 216.
 Arabia, 41.
 Arabs, 214.
 Aratos, 43.
 Arcadius, 214.
 Archilochos, 169.
 Archon, 19.
 Areiopagos, 21, 28.
 Arete, 74.
 Argebadas, 158.
 Argives, 17.
 Argolis, 6, 9, 119.
 Argonauts, 5.
 Argos, 14, 15.
 Ariadne, sleeping, 306.
 Arion, 170.
 Aristippos, 185.
 Aristides, 26, 28, 30.
 Aristogeiton, 22.
 Aristoi, 114.
 Aristomenes, 169.
 Aristophanes, 176, 185; quoted, 47, 50, 58, 111, 118, 136.
 Aristotle, 186, 187, 188; philosophy, 39, 42.
 Arkadia, 17, 32.
 Arles, amphitheatre of, 222.
 Armenia, 195, 209.
 Arria, 235.
 Art [see Houses, Jewels, Vessels.]
 —Byzantine, 310.
 —Etruscan, 302, 310, 311.
 —Greek, ideal head, 56, 57; of female figure, 58; architecture, Cyclopean walls, metallic plates, of Mykenai, their origin, 146; temples, 147, 8; Doric and Ionian capitals, chromatic decoration, 149; the Parthenon, 151; painting, 152; vases, 153, 4; frescoes, stage-painting, 155; still life, caricature, landscape, 156; sculpture, 157; religious, influence of gymnasia, 158; Parthenon marbles, 159, 60; Greek art transported to Rome, 164; under the Romans, 165; its abundance, 165, 318.
 —Roman, a continuation of Greek, 235, 301, 310; Etruscans their first architects, 302; ceases to be original, 305; painting, 306; decorative, 307; wall painting, 308; temples, 310, 314; the arch

INDEX.

- Art (*Continued*)—
and the vault, 311; the cupola,
sewers, 312; aqueducts, bridges,
313; gates, 314; the dome,
public buildings, 315; public
statues, 317.
Artemis, 65, 118, 119.
Asia Minor, 5, 6, 9, 12, 27, 195, 214,
220.
Asklepios, 108.
Aspasia, 81, 81.
Assyrians, 25.
Astarte, 6, 298.
Astragali, 101.
Atellanae, 284, 323.
Athanasios, 164.
Athene, see Pallas.
Athens [see Greece], 221; from
road to Eleusis, 1; in time of
Hadrian, 107; modern, 21;
plain of, 120; road to Eleusis,
123; market, 109; (for flowers),
73; street, 105; tombs, 142;
Akropolis, 151; Erechtheion,
152; Parthenon, 24; (interior),
153; Propylaea, 148; theatre of
Dionysos, 173.
—Early history, 19; reforms of
Solon, 20;—of Peisistratos and
Kleisthenes, 22; rivalry with
Sparta, 22, 28; democratic pro-
gress, the areiopagos, 28; defeat
at Syracuse, 30; rule of Alki-
biades, 31; surrender to Spar-
tans, 32; conquered by Make-
donians, 35; the theatre, 171;
lawsuits, 111.
Atreidai, 7, 10; origin, 5.
Atreus' house, 12.
Atrium, 229.
Attalids, 163, 303.
Attalos, 38, 303.
Attika, 7, 9, 26, 36; the mother-
land of Ionia, 6.
Attius, 323.
Attila, 214.
Augsburg, 222.
Augury, 292, 293.
Augustodunum, 221.
Augustus, 201, 203, 204, 220, 242,
337, and Livia, 202.
Aula, 86.
Aulis, 9.
Aurelianus, 212.
Aurelius Probus, 212.
Autochthons, 5.
Aventine, 216.
Azov, sea of, 23.

Babylon, 40, 41.
Babylonians, 25.
Bacchantes, 137, 138.
Bacchus, 68, 100, 162.
Baiae, 236; bay of, 225.
Barbero, 107.

Barcidae, 194.
Basilicus, 19.
Bessos, 40.
Boiotia, 7, 9, 33, 36, 138.
Boiotians, 8, 22, 35; women, 59.
Books, 91.
Bosporus, 6.
Boule, 113.
Boxer, the, 304, 307.
Brasidas, 30.
Breccae, 243.
Britain, 214.
Britons, 200.
Bronze, 146.
Brutus, 201.
Bull, Farnese, 164.
Bulla, 248.
Bullfights, 289.
Burrhus, 207.
Byzantine empire, 214

Caecus, 265.
Caelian Hill, 215.
Caesar, 199, 200, 201, 256; works,
327.
Caesaria, 221.
Calda, 272.
Caldarium, 282.
Calceus, 243.
Caligula, 202, 206.
Cambyses, 39.
Campagna, 217, 219, 223.
Campania, 283.
Candelabra, 91.
Cannae, 194.
Capitals, 150, 152, 314.
Capitoline Hill, 215.
Capreae, 205.
Caracalla, 211, 259.
Carnuntum, 222.
Carriage, 224.
Carthage, 194, 214, 220.
Carthaginians, 23.
Cato, 199, 321, and Portia, 265.
Catullus, 333; quoted, 261, 332.
Cavaedium, 230.
Cecilia Metella, tomb of, 223.
Cella, 147, 149.
Cesnola's discoveries, 11, 153.
Cestius' pyramid, 296.
Chabrias, 32.
Chaironeia, 35, 182.
Chalkis, 22.
Chares, 163.
Chariots, 117, 278; race, 285,
287.
Charles the Great, 342.
Charon, 140.
Chios, ports of, 167.
Chiton, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65.
Chlamys, 63, 65.
Christianity, 136, 264.
Christians, 207.
Christmas, 294.
Chryselephantine art, 160.

Cicero, 199, 252, 261, 328, 329.
Cimbri, 198.
Claudius, 206.
Clients, 268.
Clodia, 333.
Clodius, 261.
Cologne, 222.
Colonies, Greek, 10, 23.
Colosseum, 284, 285.
Commodus, 202, 210.
Constantine, 212, 213.
Constantinople, 213, 214, 286.
Conze, discoveries of, 304.
Corinth, 6, 18, 19, 36, 44, 81, 195,
221; gulf of, 18.
Cornelia, 266.
Cosmetics, 247.
Cothurni, 172.
Couches, 89.
Crassus, 199, 216.
Crete, 9, 15, 195.
Curtius' excavations, 130.
Cyclic poets, 167.
Cyclopean walls, 146.
Cynics, 185.
Cyprus finds, 12; pottery, 13.
Cytheris, 255.

Dacia, 209.
Daidalean art, 147.
Danaos, 5, 7.
Danube, 204, 214, 222.
Dardanians, 9.
Darioes, 24, 39, 40.
Dea dia, 294.
Death, Greek idea of, 140.
Delphi, 34, 133, 134, 135, 168; view
from, 135; influence of Chris-
tianity, 136.
Demades, peace of, 35.
Demeter, 137; festival, 169.
Demetrios Poliorketes, 42.
Demiourgoi, 19.
Demosthenes, 30, 34, 35, 42, 181,
182.
Diadochoi, 42, 303.
Diadumenos, statue of, 159.
Dioctetian, 212.
Diogenes, 185, 188.
Dionysia, 138, 175.
Dionysios, 186.
Dionysos, 41, 131, 137, 138; festi-
val, 171.
Diotima, 81, 103.
Diploidion, 61, 64.
Dirke, 164.
Diskoboloi, 126, 158.
Dithyrambics, 171.
Dodona, site, 8.
Domitian, 202, 209, 233; banquet,
276.
Dorians, 5, 7, 12, 14; origin, 8;
settlement, 6; colonies, 9 [see
Sparta].
Doryphoros, statue of, 159.

INDEX.

Drako's code, 19.
 Drusus, 204.
 Dyrrhachion, 200.
 Dress, *Greek*, 59, 66; its degeneracy, 72; men's, 62, 65, 66; (hair), 66; (heads), 67; women's, 63-65; (hair), 68; (heads), 67, 70; *Roman*, men's (toga), 241; (shoes), 242; (hair), 243; women's, 244; (hair), 245; (ladies' toilette), 247; (toilette articles), 249.
 Egypt, 5, 7, 19, 39, 41, 195, 210, 256.
 Egyptians, 25.
 Ekbatana, 40.
 Elagabalus, 211, 258.
 Elen, 183.
 Eleusis, 136, 137; Propylaea of, 137.
 Elis, 9, 17.
 Endymion, 121.
 Epaminondas, 32, 50.
 Epeirus, 8.
 Epheboi, 16.
 Ephesians, 169.
 Ephesus, 221.
 Ephoboi, 66, 115.
 Ephoroi, 16.
 Epigonoi, 201.
 Epikurianism, 298.
 Epikureans, 187.
 Epikuros, 188.
 Epinikian odes, 171.
 Epopotai, 136.
 Erechtheidai, 19.
 Erechtheion, 151, 152.
 Erinyes, 7.
 Eryximachos, 102.
 Eros, statue of, 80, 162.
 Etruscans, 153, 192, 193.
 Euboia, 22.
 Eubolos, 33.
 Eukleides, 135.
 Eumenides, 132.
 Eupatridai, 19.
 Euphrates, 6, 40, 146.
 Euripides, 171, 174, 175; quoted, 77.
 Europa, 7.
 Eurotas, 32; plain of the, 15.
 Eurymedon, 26.
 Eurytheus, 9.
 Exedra, 231.
 Exomis, 61, 62.
 Fabius, 306.
 Fannia, 255.
 Fauces, 230.
 Faun of Praxiteles, 122.
 Faustina, 257.
 Festus quoted, 192.
 Ficoronian cista, 156; scene from, 157.
 Fidenae, 193.
 Flaccus, 266.
 Flora, 294.
 Flowers, 70, 71, 72, 232.

Fops, 65.
 Fratres Arvales, 294.
 Frigidarium, 282.
 Fronto, 267, 341.
 Funerals, 295.
 Furniture, *Greek*; chairs, 88; couches, 89; lamps, 91, 235; *Roman*, 234.
 Gades, 220.
 Galba, 208.
 Games, public, 127.
 Ganges, 40.
 Gard aqueduct, 222.
 Garum, 275.
 Gaugamela, 40.
 Gaul, dying, 163; killing wife, 303.
 Gaul, 23, 195, 214.
 Gauls, 200, 203.
 Gaza, 39.
 Gedrosia, 40.
 Geiseric, 214.
 Geomoroï, 19.
 Germanicus, 206, 255.
 Germans, 200, 214.
 Gerontes, 16.
 Gladiators, 288, 289.
 Glassware, 272.
 Glaukos, 157.
 Golden House, 233.
 Gorgias, 181.
 Gracchi, 197.
 Graneikos, 38.
 Greece [see Athens, Sparta, etc.], 214; physical configuration, 3; unites all varieties of climate, favoured in sea-coast, 4; extensive territory of Greek tongue, culture derived from Orient, legendary history, 5; Greek emigrants from Phrygia, successive immigrations, 6; first walled city, family atrocities, heroic age, 7; origin of names, tribal wanderings, Amphiktyonia, 8; state of culture indicated by Homeric poems, 13; the "demos," 13, 17; age of tyrants, 17; Persian wars, 24; Peloponnesian, 29; social, 34; Persian supremacy, 37; last days of liberty, continued influence of the Greek mind, 44.
 —Society: the Greek mind, 110; character of Greek culture, 45; respect in which it was held by the Romans, 195; children's festivals, 46; education, 47; pedagogue, 48; school scene, 49; poetry, 50; (in Sparta), 51; games, 48; poetry and music, 50; gymnastics, 16, 52, 124, *ideas of beauty* [see Art, Women], 55; dress, 59; its degeneracy, 72; *houses* [see Furniture], 84;

Greece (*Continued*)—
 lighting arrangements, 90; slaves, 93; *hospitality*, 95; receiving a friend, 95; ceremonies, 95; food and wine, 96; at table, 97; music, dancing-girls, 100; games, 101; *police*, 104; *public life*, the market, 106; trade, 108; general interest in personal politics, 111; attendance at courts, 112; political duties, 113; *pleasures of youth*, 115; nocturnal revellers, 116; horses, 117; hunting, 118; study of nature, 118; conversation, 122; travelling, 124; diskoboloi, 126; national games, 127.
 —Religious life, 132; oracles, 132; mysteries, 136; Bacchanals, 138; Victims, 140; death, 140; tomb, 143.
 —Literature, *poetry*: poems of Homer, 167; his successors, 168; the elegy, iambics, "melos," 169; lyric, 170; drama, 171; "scene from comedy," 174, comedy, 175; *prose* originates in Ionia, 179; development of history, 180; oratory, 180; rhetoricians, 181; philosophy, 183; disciples of Sokrates, 185; philosophy becomes cosmopolitan, 188.
 Grylloi, 156.
 Gustatorium, 276.
 Gylippos, 30.
 Gymnastic exercises, 16, 52, 124.
 Gymnosophists, 40.
 Gynaikonitis, 86; morning in the, 69.
 Hades, 137.
 Hadrian, 209, 221; mausoleum, 316; villa, 239.
 Hair [see Dress], 66, 67, 69, 70, 243, 245; cutter, 67.
 Halikarnassos monument, 162.
 Hannibal, 194.
 Harmodius, 22.
 Haruspices, 293, 295.
 Helena, 5, 73, 74.
 Heliata, 112.
 Hellanodikai, 128.
 Hellas, 4, 6.
 Hellen, 8.
 Hellenism, 186, 297, 310.
 Hellespont, 5, 6, 38, 195.
 Helots, 16, 75.
 Helvetians, 200.
 Hephaistos, 60.
 Hera, 131.
 Herakleidai, 7, 8, 9, 14, 32.
 Herakles, 7, 126, 131; a Phoinikian deity typical of the race, 6; torso of, 304; statues, 165.

INDEX.

- Herculaneum, 153, 307.
Hercules, Farnese, 127; pillars of, 6.
Hermai, 105.
Hermes, 65, 108, 127, 129, 297.
Herodotus, 124, 179; quoted, 124
Hesiod, 50, 168.
Hestia, 87.
Hetairai, 80.
Hierodulai, 81.
Hildesheim find, 274.
Hierophant, 136.
Himation, 61, 62, 64.
Hipparchos, 22.
Hippias, 22.
Hippokrates, 107.
Hipponax, 169.
Hissarlik finds, 11.
Homer, 144, 166, 167.
Homeridae, 167.
Homeric poems, their historic value, 12; origin, 167; probable date, 12; political theory, 13; culture therein depicted, 13; of different date from that of Mykenai finds, 12; their preservation, 167.
Honorius, 214.
Horace, 334, 336, 337, 332, 335.
Horatii, tomb, 191.
Horses, 117.
Hortensius, 328.
House, *Greek*, entrance, 84; aula, 87; *Roman*, 228; interior, 229; Pompeian wall, 231; villa, 236, 237; garden scene, 238; wall inscription, 281; decorations, 232, 233, 274, 308.
Humann, discoveries of, 304.
Huns, 214.
Hunting, 118.
Hylleans, 8.
Hypaithron, 149.
Hyperides, 82, 181.
Hyphasis, 40.
Iambics, 169.
Ibykos, 170.
Iktinos, 151.
Iliad, scene from, 166.
Ilios, 119.
Ilioneus statue, 162.
Ilium, see Troy.
Illyria, 195.
Illyrians, 34.
Imperium, 201.
Improvisator, 265.
Indus, 25.
Instita, 243.
Io, 7.
Iolaos, 7.
Ionia, 60.
Ionians, 5, 9, 12, 17, 167, 178, 183; a Phrygian race settled in Asia Minor, 6; successful rivalry
Ionians (*Continued*)—
with Phoinikians, 7; poets, 168.
Iphigeneia, 73; in Tauris, 175.
Iphikrates, 32.
Iranians, 25.
Isagoras, 22.
Isis, 298.
Issos, battle, 39.
Italics, 192.
Italy, natural advantages, 191; prosperity under the empire, 220.
Ithaka, 13.
Janus, 294.
Jason, 37.
Jehovah, 40.
Jewels: diadem, 10; ornaments, 145, 248, 249.
Jugurtha, 195, 198.
Julia Domna, 254, 256, 258.
Julian, 213.
Junia, 255.
Juno Ludovisi, 246.
Jupiter, 299.
Juvenal, 339.
Kabeiroi, 136.
Kadmea, 7.
Kadmeones, 7, 8, 32.
Kadmos, 5, 7, 179.
Kalaureia, 182; sanctuary, 43.
Kallias, 79.
Kallimachos, 152.
Kallinos, 169.
Kalyptra, 63.
Kanephorai statue, 159.
Karamania, 40.
Karyatids, 151, 152.
Kaspian Sea, 25, 214.
Kassandra, 135.
Kastalia, 134.
Katabothra, 7.
Kekrops, 5.
Kelts, 192, 194.
Kephissos, 119.
Kerameikos, 106.
Keramics, 153.
Kerkyra, 30.
Kimon, 26, 28, 30.
Kleanthes, 299.
Kleisthenes, 18, 22.
Kleomenes, 22, 43, 44, 304.
Kleon, 111.
Kleopatra, 201, 256.
Klytie, 68.
Knife-whetter, 163.
Knidos, 162.
Kodros, 9, 19.
Komoidia, 175.
Komos, 175.
Konon, 32.
Kopais, 7.
Korinna, 76.
Korymbos, 68.
Kottabos, 101.
Krateres, 98.
Kritias, 185.
Krobylos, 66.
Kroisos, 23, 135.
Kunaxa, 32.
Kybele, 298.
Kyllenian mountains, 119.
Kylon, 19.
Kypselos, 18.
Kyrene, 23.
Kyrenaic school, 185.
Kyzikos, 31.
Labdakidae, 7.
Lacerna, 242.
Ladas statue, 158.
Laelius, 298.
Lais, 82.
Lakonia [see Sparta], 9, 14, 15, 17, 32.
Laokoön, 164, 303.
Lamiai, 46.
Lampadion, 68.
Lamps, 90, 91, 235.
Lapinaria, 237.
Iares, 291.
Larvae, 291.
Latifundia, 220.
Latini, 192.
Latium, 192.
Lekythioi, 143, 144.
Lemures, 291.
Leonidas, 25.
Lesbia, 260.
Lesbos, 169.
Lesche, 155.
Leukra, 32.
Libon, 128.
Licetia, 237.
Livia, 204, 254, 256.
Livius, 338.
Lollius, 204.
Love, discourse, on, 102.
Lucan, 339.
Lucian quoted, 56, 58.
Lucretia, 253.
Lucretius, 320.
Lucrine lake, 283.
Lucullus, 216, 271, 325.
Ludius, 309.
Lybia, 23, 40.
Lydia, 7, 19.
Lydians, 25.
Lykurgos, 15, 19, 181.
Lysandros, 32.
Lysias, 181.
Lysippos, 163.
Maecenas, 204, 331, 339.
Magna Graecia, 23, 193.
Maidonios, 26.
Mainads, 137.
Makedonia, 25, 42, 195; settlement, 6; growth, 34; war against Persia, 36.

INDEX.

- Mammaea, 212, 259.
Mantinea, 33.
Marathon, 25.
Marcellus, 254.
Marcomanni, 210.
Marcus Aurelius, 210, 211, 267.
Marius, 198, 201, 210, 327.
Mars, 294.
Martial, 339; quoted, 270.
Masks, 172.
Massagetai, 25.
Massilia, 23, 221.
Maximianus, 212.
Mayence, 222.
Medea, departure of, 171.
Medes, 40.
Mediterranean empire, 195.
Megaris, 9.
Melos, 169.
Meletos, 17.
Melpomene, 138.
Memnon, 39.
Memnemos, 169.
Men, Greek, soldier, 25; conversing, 110; youth praying, 132; boy with swan, 230; knights from the procession of Panathenaia, 161; heads, 67.
Menander, 177.
Menelaos, 74.
Mesaulos, 87.
Messala, 331.
Messalina, 256, 257.
Messenia, 9, 14, 17, 32, 33.
Messenians, 19.
Metal-plating, 157.
Milan, 212.
Milestone, 224.
Miletos, 17.
Mimnermos, 169.
Miltiades, 25, 27.
Mimus, 284.
Mindaros, 31.
• Minos, 7.
Minyai, 7, 8.
Misenum, Cape, 235.
Mithradates, 195, 198.
Mithras, 298.
Mitylene, 76, 169.
Mnesikles, 151.
Mola salsa, 293.
Mongols, 214.
Monogamy, 251.
Mormo, 46.
Mosaics, 156, 233.
Mulsum, 272.
Mummus, 44.
Munychia, 42.
Muraena, 237.
Muses, 139, 166.
Music, 50, 170.
Mykale, 26.
Mykenai, 7, 13, 146; Gate of Lions, 11; excavations, 12; Treasury of Atreus, 146; his
Mykenai (*Continued*)—
house, 12; golden vessels, 13; antiquity and importance of objects found, 11.
Myron, 158, 161.
Mystai, 136.
Mythology, Greek, 13, 132; Roman, 291; Hellenized, 297.
Naevius, 322.
Nausikaa, 73, and Odysseus, 167.
Nearchos, 40, 41.
Nekids, 19.
Nero, 202, 205, 207, 257; torches, 207.
Nestor's descendants, 9.
Nike, 128.
Nikomedes, 212, 221.
Nimes, "maison carrée," 226.
Niobe, 7, 161.
Nubians, 25.
Numidia, 195, 198.
Octavia, 254.
Octavianus, see Augustus.
Odoacer, 214.
Odysseus, 65; palace, 85, 86.
Odyssey, 73; landscape, 312.
Oidipus, 7.
Oinochoai, 98.
Oita, Mount, 25.
Olympia, 114, 129; temple, 130; excavations, 130.
Olympic games, 17, 75, 117, 125, 128.
Olympos, 6, 9, 166.
Onatas, 158.
Onomakritos, 167.
Optimates, 196.
Orchomenos, 7, 146.
Ostia, 236.
Ostiarius, 230.
Ostium, 229.
Ostrogoths, 214.
Otho, 207, 208.
Ovid, 332, 334, 335; quoted, 259, 260.
Oxylos, 9.
Pacuvius, 323.
Paeans, 166.
Paenula, 242.
Paestum, temple at, 147.
Paionios, 159.
Paktolos, 7.
Palaestra, 52.
Palatine Hill, 215.
Palla, 240, 243.
Pallas, 117, 139, 151; statues of, 159, 160, 161; temple, 313.
Palmyra, 212.
Pan, 121.
Panathenaia, 151; Athenian knights from procession of, 161; women at feast of, 139; victims, 140.
Pancration, 126.
Pannonia, 212.
Pannonians, 203.
Pantomimus, 284.
Pantheon, 315.
Paris, 60, 137.
Parmenides, 183.
Parnassos, 134, 137, 178; oaks of, 4.
Parnes, 119.
Parrhassios, 155.
Parthenon, 24, 151; frieze, 159, 160.
Parthians, 209, 210.
Pastas, 87.
Paulus, Aemilius, 298.
Pausanias, 26; cited, 11.
Pausias, 156.
Peiraios, 31; view from rocks of, 14.
Peisistratos, 18, 22.
Pelasgians, 6, 8.
Pelopidal, 7, 146.
Pelopidas, 32, 33.
Peloponnesian league, 22; war, 29.
Peloponnesos, 4, 7, 9, 14, 17.
Pelops, 7, 12; settles Argos, founds the Atreidai, 5.
Penates, 230, 291.
Peneios, 8.
Penelope, 73.
Pentathlon, 125.
Pentelikos, 119.
Peplos, 63, 139.
Perfumes, 69.
Pergamon, 303; marbles, 304; group from, 305; school, 163.
Periandros, 18.
Perikles, 28, 29, 150, 151, 181.
Peripteros, 147, 310.
Peristyle, 229, 230.
Persephone, 137.
Persepolis, 40.
Persia, 19, 24, 37, 212.
Persius, 339.
Pessimism, 124.
Petronius quoted, 275.
Phaidon, 140.
Phaidros, 102.
Phaon, 170.
Pharnakes, 200.
Pharsalos, 200.
Pheidias, 128, 140, 151, 157, 158, 160, 161.
Philip the Arabian, 212.
Philip of Makedon, 34, 36, 195.
Philippi, 201.
Philopoiemen, 44.
Philosophy, Greek, 183.
Phoibidas, 32.
Phoinikia, 5.
Phoinikians, 25, 167; origin and enterprise, 6.
Phokians, 34, 136.
Phrygia, the land whence the Greeks emigrated, 6.
Phrygians, 25.

INDEX.

- Phryne, 82; before judges, 83.
Physicians, 107.
Pieria, 166.
Pindar, 170.
Pindos, 8.
Piscinae, 237.
Plataiai, 26, 27.
Plato, 186; works, 102, 140, 186.
Plautus, 323, 324.
Plebs, 195.
Pliny, 340; letters, 264; villa, 341.
Plutarch quoted, 38.
Pnyx, 112.
Pollio, 267, 337.
Polybiodos, 180.
Polydoros, 164.
Polygnotos, 153, 155.
Polykleitos, 158, 159.
Polykrates, 18.
Pomoerium, 195.
Pompeii, 153, 307; street-scene, 233; houses, 85, 86; frescoes, 231, 232, 244; street of graves, 297.
Pompeius, 199, 256.
Pontifex Maximus, 292.
Pontifices, 291.
Pontus, 195.
Poppaea Sabina, 207.
Porsena, 193.
Poseidippos, 176, 177.
Poseidon, 131, 151.
Pottery, 153; funeral cups, 144; jugs and bowls, 98, 102; from Cyprus, 13; vases, 154.
Prandium, 271.
Praetorians, 288.
Praxiteles, 82, 157, 161, 162; "Eros," 80; "Hermes," 129, 130; "Faun," 122.
Pronuba, 252.
Propertius, 332.
Propylaea, 151, 155.
Prostas, 87.
Protagoras, 184.
Protogenes, 156.
Prytaneiai, 113.
Ptolemies, 42.
Puteoli, 225, 236.
Pylos, 9, 19, 95.
Pyrrhos, 194.
Pythagoras, 32.
Pythagoreans, 140, 183.
Pythia, 135.

Quadi, 210.
Quintilian, 266.
Quirinal, 215.
Quirites, 195.

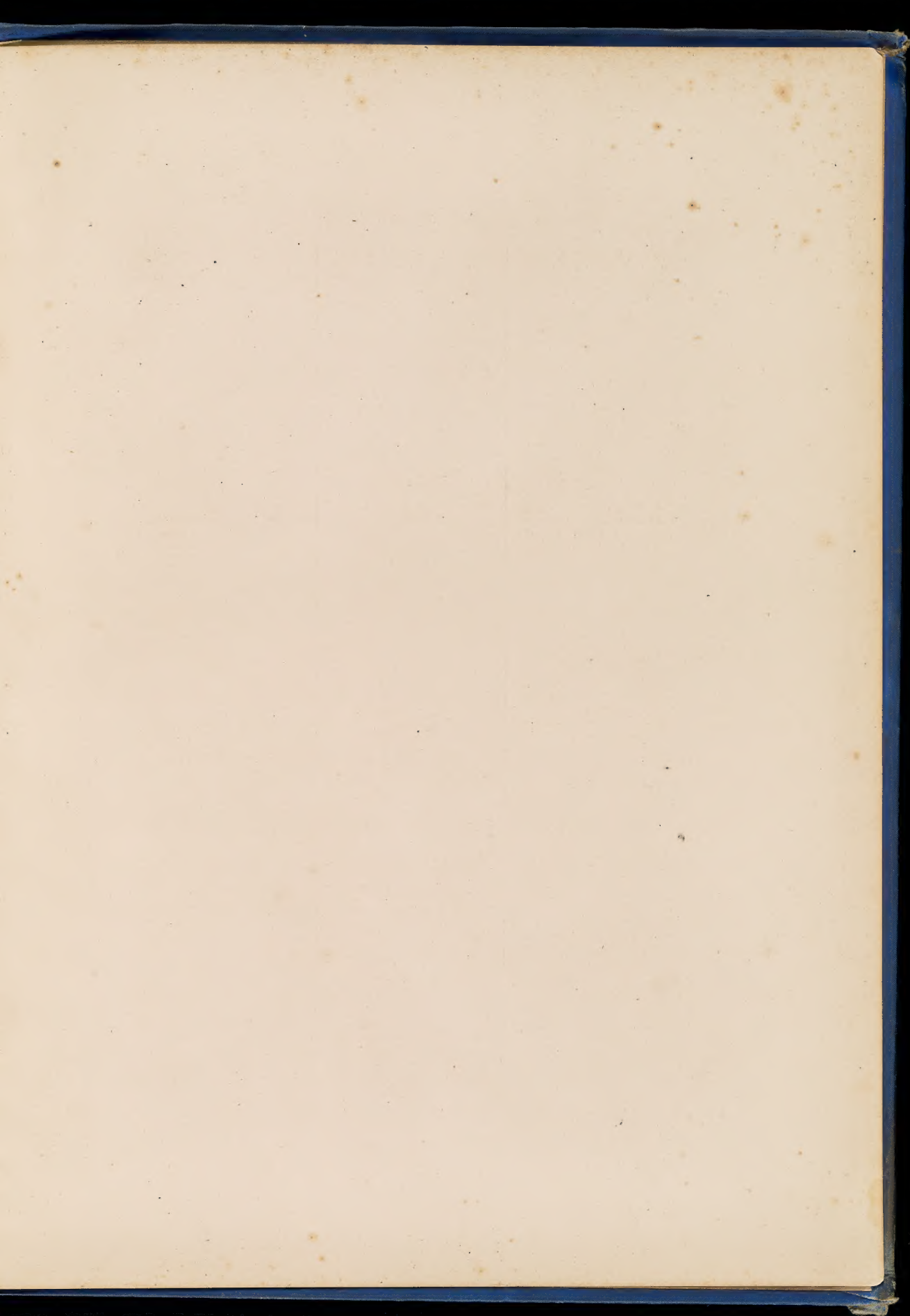
Ravenna, 214.
Renaissance, 342.
Rhine, 204, 222.
Rhodes, art at, 163, 303; Colossus, 163.

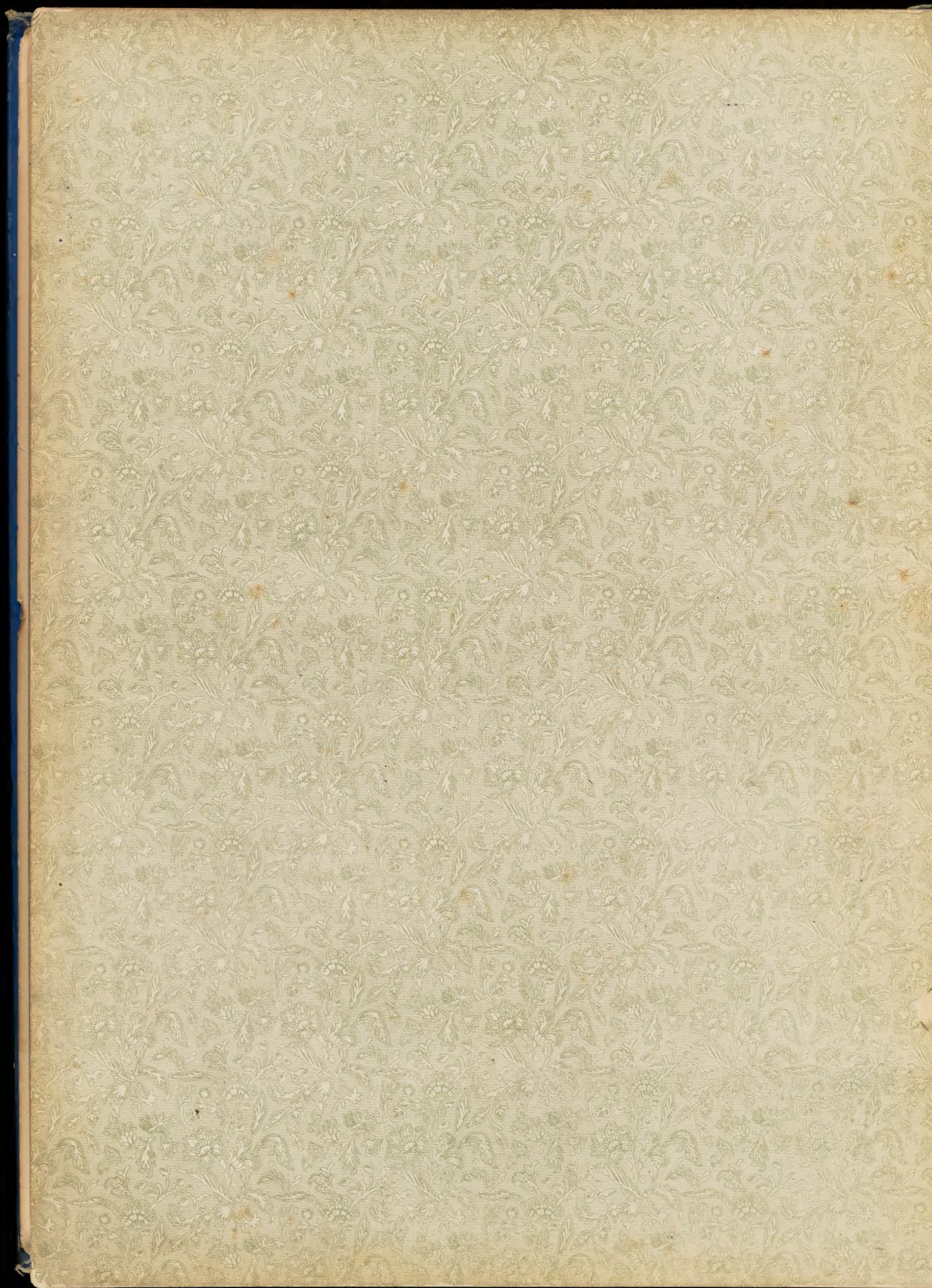
Rhoikos, 158.
Rome, character of its history, 190; situation, neighbours, 192; gradually acquires supremacy, 193; Punic wars, 194; foreign conquest, 195; constitutional history, 196; revolutionary period, 198; power of the army, 199; the empire, 202; the capital and the provinces, 203; Flavian Caesars, 208; degradation of senate, division of empire, 212; barbarian invasions, 214.
—Society [see Dress, Furniture, House, Men, Women], bakery, 227; the family, 265; scene from life, 261; education, 267; school scene, 267; slaves, 267; clients, 268, 269; study, 270; food, 271; wine, 272; dinner parties, 273; banquet, 271; at table, 275; feasts, 275, carousal, 277; baths, 282; watering places, 283; drama, 284; masks at entrance of the theatre, 259; puppet players, 253; circus, 285; (wild animals), 287; praetorians, 288; gladiators, 289.
—Religious life: Suovetaurilia, 290; altar, 291; deities, 292; vestals, 292; augury, 292; making an offering, 293; festivals, 294; haruspex, 295; funerals, 295; Pompeian graves, 297;—of Scipios, 324; columbarium, 298; sarcophagus, 322; catacombs, 299; decline of faith, 298.
—Literature, influence of the Greeks, 320, 325; Latin tongue, 321; degeneracy, 328; the epos, 322; comedy, 323; history, 327; under empire, 331; poetry, 332; rhetoric, 338; readings, 338; poets no longer favoured, 339; continued power in its decline, 342; the Renaissance, 342.
Rome, the city, 189; in time of Aurelian, 221; population, Via Appia, 297, 280; roads, 224; street, 280; sewers, 312; bridges, 313; trade, 225; arch of Constantine, 189;—of Titus, 317; aqueduct, 219; baths of Caracalla, 283; Campagna, 219, 223; capitol, 215; cloaca maxima, 315; colosseum, 285, 286; forum, 279, 308; column of Trajan, 308; fountain of Alexander Severus, 218; mausoleum of Hadrian, 316; pavement, 223; Pantheon, interior, 317; temple of Pallas, 313; Aurelian wall, 217.
Romulus and Remus, 193.
Rhyarographoi, 156.

Sabelli, 192.
Sabines, 192.
Sacrifices, 192.
Sagum, 242.
Salamis, 26, 27, 119.
Sallii, 294.
Sallust, 326; gardens of, 319.
Salona, 212.
Sannites, 192.
Samos, 178.
Samothrake, 136.
Samovar, 272.
Sandals, 64, 66.
Sappho, 75, 76, 170.
Saturnalia, 294.
Satyrs, 137.
Scaurus, 216.
Schliemann, value of his discoveries, 10.
Scipio, 197, 216, 298, 320; grave, 298.
Scythians, 23.
Segesta, 55.
Sejanus, 205.
Selinus, 147, 158.
Seneca, 207, 266, 339, 340.
Septimius Severus, 211.
Serapis, 298.
Sertorius, 199.
Servius Tullius, 196.
Shemite races, 25.
Shoes, 66, 242.
Sibylline books, 292.
S.cilly, 23, 30.
Sidonians, 6.
Sikyon, 18, 156, 163, 171.
Silius, 339.
Simonides, 169, 170.
Sipylos, 7.
Skopas, 161, 162.
Slavs, 214.
Sokrates, 31, 33, 81, 100, 103, 109, 140, 184, 185; conversations with his friends, 102; death, 185; quoted, 121.
Solon, 20, 169.
Soldier, 25.
Sophists, 184.
Sophokles, 171, 173, 173; quoted, 120.
Sorrentum, 236.
Spain, 195, 214, 220.
Spaniards, 203.
Sparta, 15, 36; Dromos, 17; market-place, 15; reforms of Lykurgos, 15; cause of their permanency, 16; policy hostile to tyrants, 19; zenith of power, decline, 32; excites revolt against Makedon, reforms of Kleomenes, 43; political death, 44.
Spartans, 169.
Sphairia, island, 139.
Sphendone, 68, 246.
Sphyrelaton, 157.

INDEX.

- Spira, 150.
 Springs, sacred, 192.
 Stage, Greek, 172; scene from comedy, 174; Roman masks, 284.
 Stesichoros, 170.
 Stilicho, 214.
 Stoa Poikile, 155.
 Stoics, 187.
 Stola, 243.
 Strasburg, 222.
 Strymon, 30.
 Styx, 140; source of, 141.
 Sulla, 199.
 Susa, 37, 40.
 Synthesis, 242.
 Syracuse, 29; siege of, 30.
 Syria, 7, 195, 210, 220.
 Tabernae, 216.
 Tablinum, 229.
 Tabularium, 316.
 Tacitus, 340.
 Tanagra figures, 58, 59, 62, 64, 67, 70, 143.
 Tantalos, 5.
 Tauriskos, 164.
 Tegea, 17.
 Temenides, 34.
 Tempe, vale of, 8, 9.
 Temples, 146-9, 310.
 Tepidarium, 282.
 Terence, 324, 325.
 Terpander, 170.
 Teutoberg Forest, 204.
 Teutons, 198.
 Thaleia, 138.
 Thales, 183.
 Thapsos, 200.
 Thargelia, 81.
 Theagenes, 19.
 Thebes, 33; foundation of, 7; revolt against Sparta, 32; decline, 33.
 Themistokles, 26, 27, 28.
 Theodoros, 158.
 Theodosius, 213, 214.
 Theognis, 169.
 Theokritos, 332, 337.
 Theon, 156.
 Theopompos, 180.
 Thermae, 282.
 Thermopylai, 25, 26, 34.
 Thersites, 13, 166.
 Theseion, 155.
 Thesmophoria, 136.
 Thespis, 138, 171.
 Thessalia, 25, 34, 166; coast, 26.
 Thessallians, their conquests, 8.
 Thrace, 214; coast, 23.
 Thrakians, 24.
 Thukydides, 179.
 Thymele, 172.
 Thyroreion, 86.
 Thyrsos, 138.
 Tiberius, 204, 205; at Capreae, 205.
 Tibullus, 260, 333.
 Tibur, 236, 238; Hadrian's villa at, 239.
 Tigris, 40, 146.
 Timanthes, 155.
 Timotheos, 32.
 Tiryns, 146.
 Titus, 207, 287.
 Tivoli, 309.
 Tmolos, 7.
 Toga, 240, 241.
 Tomb, contents, 141; bas-relief, 143; street of tombs, 105; — Roman, 297, 324.
 Toxotai, 103.
 Trajan, 209.
 Trapezitai, 108.
 Treves, 212; Porta Nigra, 222.
 Triclinium, 230.
 Trimalchio, 275.
 Troad, 9, 10.
 Trojan war, 5, 7; origin of legend, 10; evidence of Schliemann's discoveries not decisive, 10.
 Troy, plain of, 10.
 Tunica, 240, 242.
 Tyrannis, 21.
 Tyre, 39.
 Tyrians, 6.
 Tyrtaios, 50, 169.
 Ulysses, 166.
 Umbo, 241.
 Umbrians, 192.
 Ural, 214.
 Valens, 214.
 Valerian, 212.
 Varro, 326, 329.
 Varus, 204.
 Vases, 153, 154.
 Veii, 193.
 Venus, Capitoline, 58, 59; Medicean, 304, 305; of Melos, 162, 304.
 Vergil, 332, 336.
 Verona, amphitheatre, 221.
 Vespasian, 207, 208.
 Vessels [see Pottery], golden, 12; toilet, 71; drinking, 102; domestic, 234; glassware, 272; silver, 274.
 Vestals, 292.
 Virginia, 253.
 Virodunum, 222.
 Viscellinus, 196.
 Visigoths, 214.
 Vitellius, 208, 271, 272.
 Vitruvius quoted, 308, 309.
 Volcanius, 302.
 Volsians, 192, 193.
 Warriors, 21.
 Winckelmann quoted, 58.
 Women, Greek, 58; girls dancing, 45, 52, 77; mother and children, 46; flute-player, 50; girls with cithara, 51;—playing at dice, 53; Dorian, 74; sports of, 53; figures from Tanagra, 53, 60; types of beauty, 59; bride, 71; at home, 73; character, 73, 83; lady seated, 76; public opinion of, 77; testimony of works of art, 78; marriage, 79; "demi-monde," 80; at household occupations, 92; not admitted to the table, 96; acrobats, 101; slave girls, 106; do not market, 109; at feast of Panathenaia, 139; religious life, 139; heads, 67.
 —Roman, 207, 253; marriage, 251; maiden, 252; matron, 253; immorality, 259; poetess, 260; education, 261; married pair, 262; philosophical studies, 262; house philosopher, 263; influence of Christianity, 264; girls, 267; flower-girl, 275.
 Writing, 167; implements, 266.
 Xantippe, 78.
 Xenophon, 179; quoted, 79, 100.
 Xerxes, 25, 27, 66.
 Xystra, 125.
 Zama, 194.
 Zeno, 187.
 Zenobia, 212.
 Zethos, 164.
 Zeus, 131, 172; sanctuary at Dodona, 8; statues, 160; Ammon, 39.
 Zeuxis, 153, 155.





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